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Art. I.—WILLIAM STUBBS, CHURCHMAN AND HISTORIAN.

1. *Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 1825–1901.* Edited by W. H. Hutton. London: Constable, 1904.
2. *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum: an attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1858.
3. *Select Charters and other illustrations of English Constitutional History.* Ninth edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.
4. *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development.* Three vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874–8.
5. *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Modern and Medieval History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.
6. *Ordination Addresses.* Edited by E. E. Holmes. London: Longmans, 1901.
7. *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series.* Collected and edited by Arthur Hassall. London: Longmans, 1902.
8. *Visitation Charges delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Dioceses of Chester and Oxford.* Edited by E. E. Holmes. London: Longmans, 1904.
9. *Lectures on European History.* Edited by Arthur Hassall. London: Longmans, 1904.

I.

THE letters of the late Bishop of Oxford, William Stubbs, edited by Mr W. H. Hutton with the care and appreciation which belong to a labour of love, help us to understand the strength and depth of character of one who

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was not only among the first of English historians, but was also a great ecclesiastic and a remarkable man. We can see in these pages how much the practical work of the Church gained in compensation for the loss to science and literature when Dr Stubbs became a bishop, and brought to the counsels of the episcopate and to the guidance of a diocese his wealth of learning and his thoroughness of thought. We see him as a churchman of strong views, lofty aims, and distinctive powers. We see also how a character, naturally reserved, self-reliant, but somewhat timid in utterance, independent of others, but by no means anxious for power, was disciplined and strengthened by the opportunities and the troubles of life.

The reminiscences incorporated in the memoir show that he was 'a strenuous worker from his earliest years.' He owed his historic taste and gifts in a large measure to his father, who was a solicitor at Knaresborough, and set him as a boy to read charters and old documents. He soon learnt to discern the difference between classical and medieval Latin, and became familiar with medieval phraseology. While at school in Knaresborough he was not only learning classics, but was also laying another foundation; 'he was learning and thinking deeply of religious matters.' All through his life he recurred to the benefit which he had derived from attending the Bible lessons given by a Mrs Stevens 'in a little room off Kirkgate.' He gave early evidence of his love of fun and of his political bent; at the age of six he 'was privileged to wave the true-blue Tory flag in the face of Henry Brougham.'

No man perhaps was more easily misunderstood, and therefore he was by many undervalued. One cause of this was his keen sense of the ridiculous. Canon Liddon wrote to him on his appointment to the see of Chester: 'You will have to be on your guard against looking at persons and events from the critical and humorous side'; but the Bishop could not, and perhaps would not, accept the warning; he would be himself and nothing else. Another cause of his being misunderstood was his contempt for public opinion. As he said in his first visitation charge in the diocese of Oxford: 'If I am told that I am an unmitigated sectarian, I will answer, I am

sure I do not care.' So, from his playfulness and from his independence, some thought him indifferent, when in truth he was the very reverse. No one who observed even his sturdy walk as he planted his short steps with quickness and firmness could fail to detect a character of precision and decision, while the twinkle of his eye showed his lightness and geniality. His apparent levity was never frivolity; it sometimes cloaked grave displeasure; but chiefly it was the natural and irrepressible manner of relieving the tedium of listening to irrelevant speech. He disliked lengthy discussions, and, as we are told,

'he often relieved the tedium of meetings which seemed to him to do no practical good by the manufacture of epigrams. Here is one which he wrote . . . when waiting for others to come before business could be begun:—

"To the *l'État c'est moi* of Louis le Roi

A parallel case I afford.

Something like it, you see, may be said about me;

Am I not the Diocesan Boar'd?"'

He was always a reader of stories. The ceaseless activity of his brain made him buy a novel as he started on a railway journey to occupy his thoughts without much strain. He was interested even by inferior writings, for he used to dissect the plot, expose the improbabilities of it, if there were such, and with merciless severity condemn any looseness of moral tone. There is no doubt that there were those who disliked seeing him read 'such trash' in a railway train. He knew they did, but he took his own line, and never would appear to be what he was not. But these were merely his relaxations.

'His note-book' (at the time of his ordination by Wilberforce) 'shows that he threw himself ardently into two studies, the study of theology and the study of the past history of his college. Early church history was analysed and digested by him with the minute accuracy which marked all his work.'

Naturally, with his strong convictions and his ardent love for the Church, he resented the effect of Liberalism on his University. He held that it

'Made our Oxford fall a prey
To that foul Chevalier,

Who Bunsen hight, with Arnold's might
 And Puritanic zeal,
 Struck the first blow that broke the strength
 Of England's Church's weal.'

In 1850 he was ordained priest at Cuddesdon; and next day he was presented to the living of Navestock. At Navestock his parochial work and his time for study prepared him for his life's great work. The lines he wrote on undertaking the charge of his parish show how he linked the natural and the spiritual.

'Is not this
 As fair a portion of my Master's garden
 As e'er was blessed in Eden? Who am I
 To till and keep the souls that surely draw
 Some inspiration from the scenes they dwell in?'

His fulfilment of his duty as parish priest was exemplary, and his diligence in historical study bore noble fruit. The appendix in which Mr Hutton has given a list of the Bishop's works gives convincing evidence of the wide range of his literary work and of the editor's careful labour. It will be noted that the list contains no reviews. The Bishop used to say that he never would be induced to write one. It was at Navestock that he compiled his 'Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum,' a work of profound research and scrupulous accuracy. It may be doubted whether this book commands the attention it deserves. He offered it 'as a contribution to ecclesiastical history in the departments of biography and exact chronology'; and Mr Hutton truly writes of it:—

'It may be said, briefly, that it has become an indispensable assistance to the student of English history. Its extraordinary accuracy, and the width of knowledge which is shown in the list of authorities, in print and manuscript, are the merits which are most conspicuous.'

In 1862 he was appointed by Archbishop Longley Librarian at Lambeth. This post afforded him opportunities for study and original research of which he made an exemplary use. His labours in writing the introductions to many of the volumes of the Rolls Series were signal. As Mr Hutton remarks,

'The rescue of the memory of the great Archbishop Dunstan from the ignorant abuse of Protestant controversialists, and the equally unhistorical defence of Roman hagiologists, was one of the first and greatest services which Stubbs rendered to our national history.'

He was severe on Dean Hook's 'Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,' specially on Hook's 'Life of Becket.'

'His view of the martyr' (he writes to Freeman) 'is a singular Erastian view that takes its own measure of every person or act and maintains its own conclusion, by Hook or by Crook, for I cannot look on it as straightforward.' ('Letters,' p. 94.)

In 1866 he left Navestock, and delivered his first lecture as Professor of Modern History at Oxford on February 7, 1867. Mr J. R. Green went down from Stepney to hear it, and wrote in the 'Saturday Review': 'The hopes which were excited by the selection of Mr Stubbs are more than justified by the inaugural lecture which is now before us.' The following sentence quoted by Mr Hutton shows the spirit in which he regarded his new task:—

'There is, I speak humbly, in common with natural science, in the study of living history, a gradual approximation to a consciousness that we are growing into a perception of the workings of the Almighty Ruler of the world; that we are growing able to justify the Eternal Wisdom, and by that justification to approve ourselves His children.'

His 'Constitutional History,' published in 1874-1878, was the chief work of his professorship. It showed that the editor of medieval texts was also a great original thinker; and a sentence in his preface gives an insight into his characteristic views on historical study, especially the study of constitutional history.

'The history of institutions has a deep value and an abiding interest to those who have courage to work upon it. It presents, in every branch, a regularly developed series of causes and consequences, and abounds in examples of that continuity of life the realisation of which is necessary to give the reader a personal hold on the past and a right judgment of the present. For the roots of the present lie deep in the past; and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present comes to be what it is.'

The influence of historical study on Dr Stubbs himself was profound. He was a Conservative because to him Radicalism was subversive of the idea of a nation's growth and progress. To change for the sake of changing was to him odious, because it ran counter to his conviction that the life of a nation, as the life of an individual, when viewed in its real proportions, is an exemplification of God's dealings with men. Decided as he was in politics, he was no partisan. He could be, and often was, as severe, if not more severe, on the acts of those with whom in theory he agreed as he was on the acts of those to whom he was on principle opposed. The Local Government Act was a grievous offence to him, because he saw that it was drafted in forgetfulness or in ignorance of 'the most elementary truths of our constitution.' How keen his perception of what those truths were, what they involved, and what evil consequences must follow from disregarding them, he never disguised. It was to him a removing of landmarks which were to be retained not in a mere sentimental reverence for the past, but as a practical method of safeguarding local interests, while they also gave evidence of cohesion and continuity as strongly as they limited the sphere in which men were to act.

His power of concentration, his quickness of thought and rapidity of writing, along with accurate assignment of every detail to its proper place in his memory, were astonishing. To see him at work was a lesson, but it was a lesson few could learn. For instance, when he was finally correcting the masterly introduction to William of Malmesbury, he went to Paris to consult the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and, finding a more trustworthy document than he had expected, he laid his thick quarto note-book on the desk and said, 'I must take some time about this; it will take me longer than I expected.' In very little more than an hour he verified every word about which he had a doubt, and that from a manuscript which it would have taken many men a long time to read. Of course he had the words marked in his note-book before he went to Paris; but the rapidity with which he hit upon the word in the manuscript, and the quickness with which he wrote any correction which was needed, were very remarkable. This power of concentration, along with rapid execution, made him somewhat impatient of

those who, as he expressed it, 'would not give five minutes' to learn how to read or decipher ancient manuscripts. He would not allow that any one was incapable of doing it.

His capacity for historic research and his power to found a school of historic learning were recognised by Mr Gladstone, who, in thanking him for a copy of the 'Lectures,' wrote:—

'I am under a painful impression that the Oxford of our day has for the time damaged the great final examination in the Classical School, and that this damage will tell, and is telling, on the men whom she sends into the world. This impression, be it correct or not, only intensifies my desire for the fulfilment of your inspiring anticipations, and my pleasure in what has already been achieved—owing most of all, I believe, to you—for the foundation of an Oxford School of History.' ('Letters,' p. 148.)

In the foundation of that school, and in the encouragement of right methods of research, perhaps no book has had more influence than his volume of 'Select Statutes,' a book whose example has been more or less successfully followed by numerous similar collections, both in this country and America.

With the views which he held on the need of exact accuracy in historical work, it was not unnatural that Bishop Stubbs thought lightly of Froude and Kingsley as historians. His epigram on these writers is well known.

'Froude informs the Scottish youth
That parsons do not care for truth.
The Reverend Canon Kingsley cries
History is full of lies.
What cause for judgments so malign?
This short reflexion solves the mystery:
Froude believes Kingsley a divine,
And Kingsley goes to Froude for history.'

It is impossible to overrate the importance of the work done by Dr Stubbs on the Royal Commission appointed in 1881, by Mr Gladstone's advice, to 'inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts.' Dr Stubbs was present at every one of the seventy-five sessions of the Commission, and he also gave evidence before it. He, with Dr Westcott, saw the danger of Erastianism; and both did their utmost to

avert it. Although he did not think the general Report the best conceivable, he signed it without reservation, because he was convinced

'that the one thing to do, after having fought our view fairly as we have done, was to strengthen the recommendations *as a whole* as much as we could, and to weaken them as little as we could.' ('Letters,' p. 220.)

Mr Gladstone, on reading the papers which Dr Stubbs had presented to the Commission, wrote:—

'I have read the papers so kindly sent me with much interest, and I think there is not anything of what you have said against the present Court of Appeal in which I do not concur.'

Those who read his evidence before the Commission will observe how confident he was that Convocation is truly a Provincial Synod, and that the *Præmunientes* clause in the writ summoning the bishops to Parliament 'has no reference whatever to the Convocation of the Clergy.'

But perhaps the greatest service which he rendered to the Commission and to the Church was the historical draft prepared by him to deal with the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and a paper of suggestions, in which he clearly shows how well balanced his judgment was as to the relation between Church and State; these suggestions ought, indeed, to be read as a whole, but two salient points may be given:—

'In case of any readjustment of rights and duties between Church and State, the clergy have a right to accept or refuse by the action of their representative assemblies. . . . The Privy Council is a body which, neither by its history nor by its composition, has any claim for special regard as a supreme judicial tribunal.' And again: 'I believe that it obtained its legal position, as regards the matters now before us, by a culpable oversight; it has worked calamitously for the Church of England, having done more than anything else to promote the growth of Roman Catholic influence.' ('Letters,' p. 222.)

When we consider the way in which Lord Brougham pushed the Bill through Parliament 'without debate,' Dr Stubbs's words seem not too strong. Dr Stubbs's resolution, seconded by Lord Bath, was lost. It provided that, for lack of justice in any of the courts of the arch-

bishops of this realm, it should be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the Queen's Majesty in Council; whereupon the Lord Chancellor was to examine such appeal and to report whether the points in dispute were of temporal or civil right, or of spiritual law; the former to be determined by the Judicial Committee, the latter by the archbishops and bishops of the two provinces.

The proceedings of the Commission terminated on July 13, 1883; and on February 7, 1884, Dr Stubbs received a letter from Mr Gladstone proposing to him that he should succeed Bishop Jacobson in the diocese of Chester; a proposal which, after some hesitation, he accepted. He went to Chester with full parochial experience and great learning, taking with him the same simplicity of life and manners with which he used to welcome his friends at Kettel Hall. It struck many with surprise that one who had been essentially a student and devoted to literary work could throw himself into the business of his diocese with the energy which he displayed. He distrusted mere organisation, and steadily refused to be organised himself. He relied on his own judgment both as to men and matters, and did not value conferences or boards very highly; yet no one could deny the prudence, wisdom, or utility of the papers drawn up by him for the guidance of his diocese on Church defence, elementary education, and study. He was not satisfied with the outcome; like other bishops, he found a lack of men who would vigorously use the material which he furnished. The rapidity with which he saw the point in debate and the issue of a course of action, his concise statement of the bearing of what had been said, and his appreciation of it, often took his hearers aback, and some took offence, although the Bishop's shafts were never tipped with venom, and his irony could wound none but the oversensitive.

On his coming into the diocese he had to consider whether he would continue to adopt the eastward position when celebrating the Holy Communion in the Cathedral. He knew that the Dean did not approve of his doing so; but the Bishop wrote:—

'As we do not think alike on this point, I am sure you will do me the justice of believing that I act on reasons which seem to me to be sufficient.'

He had, on being ordained priest in 1850, satisfied himself that the eastward position was allowed, if not enjoined, by the rubric, and he had never taken any other position. He made up his mind, saying, 'I will not sail under false colours.' He thought that the practice was more seemly, but did not wish to influence others. The position, he held, did not affect the validity of the sacrament; he adopted it because of his conviction that it was permissible and preferable.

Ritual, as such, had no attraction for him; ritualistic elaboration rather irritated him, as obscuring, while adding no dignity to, the deep verities of Christian worship. But no one who saw his 'three congés,' after the manner of Laud, as he walked up towards his throne in the Cathedral, could doubt what was in his mind. There was absolute simplicity and a complete absence of ostentation, joined with a quiet dignity and subdued reverence which expressed his sense that he was in a holy place, and that he was about to do homage to the King Eternal. If he was sometimes betrayed into an act or phrase which might be deemed to contradict this attitude of mind, it was a protest against what seemed to him unreality through excess. But no one could be more tolerant of the ways of others, whether on the side of defect or of excess, as he judged things. He never would be severe on what he termed 'accidental irreverence.' Intention was the standard by which he ruled and measured the acts of those with whom he had to do. He specially disliked long letters; and, if they appeared to him superfluous, he sometimes returned a curt answer. It is related that, having been consulted about the propriety of placing curtains in a church, he answered on a post-card in three words, 'Hang your curtains.' It was certainly a permission, but also an intimation that the letter need not have been written.

His successor in the see of Oxford truly writes, in the admirable sketch which he has contributed:—

'Perhaps what most of all helped people to misunderstand him was a nervous and almost morbid dread of anything like display. Almost morbid, I say; because I think that sometimes he came near displaying what was not real for fear of being tempted into displaying what was.' ('Letters,' p. 407.)

A very simple incident reported from Chester illustrates the truth of this sentence. An American who often visited Chester, and whose grandfather had been Subdean of the Cathedral, met the Bishop, and asked leave to shake hands. The Bishop put both hands behind his back, and, laughing heartily, asked: 'Why in the world do you wish to shake hands with me?' The American answered: 'My lord, I wish to touch the hand that wrote the "Constitutional History of England."' The Bishop instantly relaxed and heartily shook hands; he was ready enough to oblige an American who took a real interest in the constitution of the old country.

Of another characteristic, the present Bishop of Oxford writes with equal truth:—

'I do not think that it is strange or puzzling that he used great reserve. For his was a singularly strong and thoughtful and penetrating mind; he looked often, and saw deep, into the pathos of life; it seemed the element he most discerned and felt, as with an instinctive sympathy; and those who so watch life have many thoughts they cannot freely talk of.'

So it was that he earned a bad report because of his apparent want of sympathy; he could not bear to express it. When his chaplain said to him, 'Bishop, you would like to see the man,' he would answer, 'Don't you know that I hate to see my fellow-men?'

Before Dr Stubbs's translation to Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury asked him to act as an assessor in the Bishop of Lincoln's case. He refused, and, in a letter to the Dean of St. Paul's, gave reasons for his refusal.

'The very fact of my being named as assessor would weaken the authority of the Court in the eyes of the hostile party, whilst my disbelief in the constitutional competency of his Court disqualified me from honestly acting as a member of it.' ('Letters,' p. 319.)

The Archbishop urged that the court would be deemed incomplete without him; and the Dean of St Paul's advised him to accede. The Bishop yielded, but he made it plain that the whole business was distasteful to him, that he had no particular knowledge of the points in dispute, no aptitude for adjudicating or advising on a subject which he thought ought to have been at once

dismissed. Nor did he disguise that he was impatient at the thought of a friend, whom he revered as a saint of God, being brought to trial by those who had a very questionable right in law to do so. He wished it to be clearly understood that the decision was the decision of the Archbishop alone. In his second charge to the clergy of Oxford, he said (p. 154):—

‘I believe that the cautions expressed in the last paragraph of the Archbishop’s decision are still necessary, but that good men on both sides have seriously taken them to heart: “The Church has a right to ask that her congregations may not be divided either by needless pursuance or by exaggerated suspicions of practices not in themselves illegal.”’

The Bishop has left it on record that his responsibility as regards the decision begins and ends with the two words, ‘exaggerated suspicions.’ It is an expression which contains a rebuke for those who stoop to ‘discredited expedients.’ However, when the decision was made public, he wished it to be obeyed. It might be inferred from his action on the Royal Commission that, in his view, the competent tribunal would have been the archbishops and the other bishops of the province; but the Bishop has left no such opinion on record.

His letter to the Archbishop on the ‘joint action of Convocations’ has unfortunately been lost sight of. He showed that

‘the whole question turns on the point whether or no it is competent for the Crown and the Church, on the terms and within the conditions of the first clause of the Submission of the Clergy, to co-operate for the summoning and holding of such a national synod as is desired.’ And he ‘was unable to see that the two archbishops, singly or conjointly, can by their ordinary power either assemble the two Convocations in a national synod, or bring them together for a joint sitting, or assemble any bodies of the same constitution and character.’

He would have preferred to make the best use of the organisation we have; he did not join in the outcry that Convocation did not represent the Church. Convocation is summoned, not to represent aggregations of individuals, but to represent the several jurisdictions which constitute the powers of the Church—bishops as representing their jurisdiction, chapters and archdeacons as representing

theirs. He looked with more than disfavour on the meetings in London of the Convocations gathering as Committees with laymen, who have no right to be present at a Committee of Convocation; the whole thing was to him unreal, if not something more. Had he lived to see the meeting of what is called the Representative Church Council, his opinion of it can scarcely be a matter of doubt. His words, written with reference to the other proposal, would apply with greater force to this:—

‘I cannot believe that the conclusions of such an assembly, if brought together, would carry more legal weight than those of the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences.’

His opinion, formed after a survey of historic precedents and of constitutional principles, led him to write: ‘I think that the joint sitting would require a writ of its own.’

He deprecated the passing of resolutions on which the Church could not act because of her historic constitution. In his second visitation charge he said:—

‘We have so long maintained the legal and constitutional continuity of the Church before and after the Reformation that it becomes a matter of mental difficulty to enter into the arguments of those who would deny it; of the Puritan who believes us to be an Act of Parliament Church, and the Romanist who believes that Henry VIII was our founder.’

To contemplate any such departure from our constitutional position as might either obscure or destroy it was to him a mental distress. He laboured and wrote to prove that our own Church had ‘an organic constitution and political or ecclesiastico-political independence as a National Church before and since our breach with Rome.’ He was not at all confident about seeking legislative powers for a brand-new constitution; for to go to Parliament was a course wholly different from acknowledging the supremacy of the Crown. The law advisers of the Crown might be timid and hesitate about writs or even about letters of business; but Parliament might be rash and pass, in ignorance or in malicious defiance of the just rights of the Church, measures wrong in themselves and disastrous in their consequences.

His speech in the Upper House of the Convocation of

Canterbury on the reform of Convocation, like his third visitation charge, showed that he was well satisfied with Convocation as it is, and how moderate was his idea of what he termed 'a fair reform.' It was in effect to assimilate the constitution of the province of Canterbury to that of the province of York, so that there should be two proctors elected in each archdeaconry 'to represent the counsel and consent of the body.' He had increasing confidence that the practical benefits of co-operation between the two provinces were 'being realised now in the sympathetic mutual confidence of the two provincial assemblies.'

Some have thought that it was a mistake that he was taken from his historical work and made a bishop; but perhaps enough has been said to show that there is another side to that question. It is unfortunately true that the Church of England and all who study history have lost an invaluable instalment of his historical work. He had prepared more than an outline of the history of England in relation to the Church during the Tudor period; he had all the bearings of it well arranged in his mind; but when he accepted a bishopric he gave up the project. On the one hand, he felt that the task would interfere with the discharge of the duties and responsibilities which he had undertaken; on the other, he knew that the work could not be done without frequent visits to the British Museum, and even journeys abroad to consult the archives of foreign states. He therefore resolutely put his unfinished task aside, because, like his colleague of Peterborough and London, he knew that the work of an historian is incompatible with that of a modern bishop.

His preaching was not what is called popular; but no one who heard him could doubt the strength of his convictions or the depth of his feeling. Whether on the subject of prayer unfeigned, or on the historic claim of the Church of England to be to us the Church of God, the tone of his words was as forcible and direct as it was lofty and spiritual. He was conscious of his own power, but no man ever made a more modest use of it; he never employed it to wound, although he never shrank from exposing a fallacy or from proving how untenable a position was in which he detected a false principle. He took pains to show the mistake which men sometimes

make who believe themselves to be resting on principle when they are 'using a shallow argument of expediency or a taking piece of clap-trap.'

In his attitude towards Biblical research his natural conservatism was apparent. He used to enforce with an earnestness all the more remarkable because of his restrained and quiet manner, that the Bible was a trust from which we were not 'to construct theories or to concoct conundrums,' but that we should use it 'as a treasury of preaching definite doctrines which we pledged ourselves to as believers and maintainers.' On leaving the Cathedral Church of Chester, after hearing an able sermon on the Incarnation, in what may be termed the 'Lux Mundi' style, he is reported to have said: 'I prefer the Gospel in its original form.' He was impatient of speculation on a revealed fact which is outside human experience, but which, as revealed, is seen to be a sure basis for the Christian religion, with all its ethical and spiritual power. He did not believe that the superstructure built upon Philippians ii, 7 was warranted. He held that St Paul gave the full meaning of 'He humbled Himself' in the words which follow, 'taking the form of a servant,' so that the passage means that He Who from all eternity was God, became also in time very Man. So, when the present Bishop of Worcester resigned the position of Principal Librarian of the Pusey House, Dr Stubbs, as Chairman of the Governors of that institution, wrote to the Rev. R. L. Ottley ('Letters,' p. 336) to express his strong feeling that the House ought not in any way to be connected with 'any suspicion of patronising the negative side of the historic criticism of the Old Testament,' or with 'a theory on the Incarnation which had been attributed to the retiring Principal'; and he continued:—

'You know the point about Phil. ii, 7, and that I regard this as very critical. Now I know, from what you have told me yourself, that you are inclined to value the Higher Criticism more than I do; but the more important and direct point touching the Incarnation I have no doubt of your sympathy upon, although you might not use exactly the same language that I should. It is in this assurance that I offer you my best sympathy in the task that you are thinking of taking up.'

Believing as he did in the divine origin and the con-

tinuity of the Church, it was natural that he should sometimes speak of the danger of disestablishment as one which might be regarded with comparative equanimity. He made it plain, indeed, that the term itself was fallacious: it could not be accurate to speak of disestablishing that which had never been established. But he was also careful to point out the process that was going on gradually but surely; how the education of the people, and our colleges and universities, were being withdrawn from the influence of the Church. In a memorable sermon he said:—

‘It may be that England, giving the lie to her glorious history in the past, and renouncing her glorious hope of forming the world of the future, shall break up the secular framework of her historical Church’; but ‘she cannot kill the inner life; we need not fear that.’

What he did fear was the effect of disestablishment on the nation. He had confidence that the Church would recover her strength within half a century, ‘but what of the flock in the meantime?’ His anxious wish was that, if the question of disestablishment should come before Parliament, the conflict about the separation of Church and State should be argued upon a question of morality, such as the Deceased Wife’s Sister Bill, or divorce, not upon the comparatively trivial question of ritual or judicial procedure. He expressed this in his terse way: ‘If we are to be killed let us die fighting for the religious life of the nation.’

Dr. Stubbs’s natural independence led him to place little trust in democratic opinion. He never tried to win a fleeting popularity by confusing principles, nor did he believe that any one gained respect by pretence. History, which led him to condemn the miserable saying of Archbishop Reynolds, ‘Vox populi vox Dei,’ taught him a deep distrust of public opinion. He warned his clergy, with strong emphasis, not to write to a newspaper, because, as he expressed it, ‘you then appeal to a jury whose verdict you would not accept.’ The Church of England was to him—and he endeavoured to make it so to others—the presentment of the Kingdom of God. He pressed on the men whom he ordained that they must view their calling in this light. He would urge in the

same breath that the responsibility was tremendous, but that faith and prayer warranted us in undertaking it. He warned them further that, if the ministers of Christ were to be received by the flock as ambassadors coming in His name, they must seek Christ in the flock. He held 'that this double relation, the mystic union that exists betwixt Christ and His Church, was to be made a living fact in the relation of the minister of God with the flock of God.' The Church would have lost much if he had not had, as a bishop, opportunity to inculcate such a line of thought on the clergy of his day.

As to the future, he was convinced that nothing short of apostacy, or such persecution as would break up our organisation so that we could no longer fulfil our spiritual, our national, our historical charge, would bring the doom that our candlestick should be removed. He saw that hindrances lay in our path, because it was our duty 'to cover the whole ground.' In this connexion he foresaw that greater difficulties would arise in our task of providing elementary education for our people than either Roman Catholics or other religious bodies would have to meet. They could not be asked to do more than to provide for their own wants; but the Church of England could not be content to accept such a position, because she is bound to leaven the nation and to win it for Christ. A paragraph in his first charge in the diocese of Oxford indicates how clearly he weighed in the balance the probabilities of legislation as it might affect our schools.

♫ 'The prohibition of distinctive formularies, of Church teaching, means practically the inculcation of the idea that what the Church teaches her children as necessary to salvation is not necessary to salvation; it means the proscription of the doctrinal as well as the formal teaching of the Gospel. Non-inclusion is prohibition; and prohibition is practically contradiction. The exclusion of conformity is the inculcation of nonconformity.' ('Charges,' p. 116.)

As Bishop Stubbs read history, the Church had established the nation, and enabled it to fulfil its high mission throughout the world. A breach in the continuity of the Church, or a lessening of its power, would be, in his judgment, a national disaster. But in these and all other matters of public dispute the spirit which animated

him shines forth in the closing sentence of his fourth and last visitation charge.

'Nothing in this world can justify the malice of controversy—no, not even the love of the Eternal Truth, if we could conceive it to operate in combination with it. No truth in the world is worth fighting for with weapons like these; nothing in the world is so certain as, and nothing in heaven more certain than, the authority of the law of love.'

II.

An American critic once expressed his surprise that the writer of the 'Constitutional History' was not only free from political bias, but appeared to be scarcely 'influenced by ecclesiastical sentiment or prejudice'; and this appreciation elicited from Dr Stubbs a warm recognition of the reviewer's insight.

'Here am I' (he says) 'steeped in clerical and conservative principles, and yet able to take such a view of matters as scarcely to betray ecclesiastical prejudice or political bias. Seriously speaking, that is just what I wish. I understand the clerical spirit and mind to be that which regards truth and justice above all things, which believes what it believes firmly and intelligently, but with a belief that is fully convinced that truth and justice must in the end confirm the doctrine that it upholds; with a belief that party statement and highly-coloured pictures of friend and foe are dangerous enemies of truth and justice, and damage in the long run the cause that employs them.'*

This profession of belief, coming from an earnest and reserved man, is, by itself, a valuable clue to his aspirations and character. There are no mystic dreams, no crafty pleading or narrow-minded fanaticism, in the books of this Anglican divine. On the contrary, they are conspicuous for common-sense, scrupulous fairness, and breadth of view. It is not to a Gfrörer or a Janssen, for whom history was the handmaid of theology, that we should liken the late Bishop of Oxford, but rather to the single-minded, wonderful Benedictine scholars of a former age, to a Mabillon, for instance. Rare, indeed, are the

* 'Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History,' p. 20.

occasions when we are able to trace a special clerical leaning in his writings. He believes in progress on religious grounds; he is sure that God is leading, but never forcing, mankind towards better things. He is apt to look to the Church for temperate, constructive work. He abhors the Puritans for their vulgarity, arrogance, hypocrisy, and despotism. Still he acknowledges some good points even in these, his bitterest enemies; he feels bound to side with them in their resistance to religious and political oppression.

Stubbs's aptitude to take in the many sides of a subject did not come from weakness of conviction or uncertainty of view; it was intimately connected with the ideal aims of the historian. Truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—this he considered it his duty to seek; and his repeated declarations in this sense are not truisms or mere ornaments of speech. The strict research of truth, when it comes to be the guiding principle of a scholar's life, educates him in a certain sense, and warns him more especially against particular failings. The Bishop was exceedingly distrustful of anything which might look like partisanship or sharp practice. He is hardly in touch with modern sympathies when he jests about the invention of printing as inducing people to write, not for the sake of saying what they think, but in the hope of catching readers. But he indicates a dangerous vice of modern journalism when he protests against the 'niggling' spirit of reviewers, who try before all things to pick holes in a book instead of discovering the author's meaning, and drawing a fair estimate of his results.* It is not to Macaulay or even to Hallam that Stubbs looked for models of historical treatment, but to Ranke, the great master of 'objective' history, like himself a Conservative by temperament, who achieved a reputation by explaining the cause and necessity of change. No wonder that it is not in modern epochs that the Professor of Modern History felt most at home, but in the Middle Ages, where he sought the deep roots of the present, while evading its clamorous contentions and doubtful issues.†

And yet the Professor of Modern History would not

* Lectures, p. 52.

† *Ib.* p. 208.

have willingly exchanged his chair for that of Ancient History, although the latter is even more remote from the strife of modern party. There were other drawbacks in its case. According to Stubbs's view, historians of the ancient world are too apt to consider mankind in the abstract, to amuse themselves with principles,* whereas he himself felt exceedingly cautious in respect of abstract reasoning and generalisations. He not only criticises sweeping theories like that of Freeman's unity of history or Carlyle's Gospel of Force, but he draws a distinct line between his work and that of a philosopher or a man of science. In his lecture on Canon Law he gives a humorous expression to his views.

'A lawyer, no doubt, would make short work of the subject, and pronounce a definite judgment, without misgiving, on any subject, historical or other, human or divine, on which he had evidence before him; and a philosopher would systematise, to his own satisfaction, any accumulation of details that could possibly be referred to the categories of cause and effect. The student of history has not, *ex officio*, any such privilege of infallibility; the highest point to which he can rise is the entire conviction of his own ignorance and incapacity before the vast material of his investigation.' †

Of course, there is something more than scepticism behind this distrust of generalisations.

'Shall I be saying too much if I say at once that one great objection to the very idea of reducing History to the lines and rules of exact science lies in the fact that generalisations become obscure and more useless as they grow wider, and, as they grow narrower and more special, cease to have any value as generalisations at all.' ('Lectures,' p. 89.) And again: 'A perpetual straining after the abstract idea or law of change, the constant "accentuation," as it is called, of principles in historical writing, invariably marks a narrow view of truth, a want of mastery over details, and a bias towards foregone conclusions.' ('Const. Hist.' iii, 519.)

On the few occasions when Stubbs himself indulges in what he contemptuously describes as the 'common-places' of generalisation, his efforts are not, indeed, of a very high order, and seem to halt between truisms and fallacies.

* Lectures, p. 14.

† Ib. p. 292.

A man with a thorough knowledge of facts is not at his best when he essays to be 'sententious.' Nor is it strange that a thinker endowed with strong common-sense clearly realised the difference between history, on the one hand, and sciences employing experiments and quantitative analysis, on the other. In spite of all this, Stubbs is just one of those historians whose work may be cited as an example of a scientific treatment not pretending to exactness. Guided by his investigating spirit, he has analysed a great subject in an almost exhaustive manner. It is not by the gift of direct intuition, or by imaginative power, or by the brilliancy of rhetoric and style, that he has attained his high place among historians, but by 'an unlimited capacity for taking pains,' and by the yet greater capacity for directing his study to general conclusions. These conclusions, for all their unassuming, matter-of-fact appearance, are of high value for the formation of opinions on national character, constitutional development, and the relation between men and institutions.

In the case of Bishop Stubbs, as in that of other eminent men, the course of a life's work is instinct with a certain dramatic interest, although its external aspect is devoid of accidents and excitement. He started from a psychological problem, from a conflict of leading ideas which it took a strong man's labour to overcome. A cautious and sober-minded thinker and student, with a deep distrust of dogmatism, partisanship, and imaginative flights, he was drawn by the investigating spirit to a study of the human past with its tantalising obscurities, controversies, uncertainties of cause and motive. It is not the occasional scepticism but the constructive character of his work which is remarkable from this point of view. The wish to begin at the beginning, to discover the deep roots of English life, as well as impatience of modern polemics, led him to select the Middle Ages as his particular field of study. But the investigator had more than ever to reckon in this case with the incompleteness and obscurity of evidence. His earlier efforts were naturally directed towards the collection of materials and their critical sifting. The editions prepared for the Rolls Series justly rank as models of this kind.

The criticism of authorities, as exhibited in the pre-

faces to these editions, is especially characterised by remarkable moderation. All the circumstances which may throw light on authorship, information, methods, political bias, are collected and examined with care, but the limits between the ascertained, the probable, the possible, and the unknown, are defined with the utmost scrupulousness. We are never led into those mazes of assumption and hypothesis which are too often the bewildering outcome of investigations in this line. Further, these prefaces do not concern themselves merely with critical preparations for the reconstruction of history, but proceed to this reconstruction itself. Stubbs was fully convinced of the importance of the personal side of history, and gave to it much of his time. History cannot be read as a chess problem, he said. It is needless to mention that his contributions to 'external' history have enriched it with a number of sound and productive results: the essays on the epochs of Dunstan, of Henry II, of Richard I, of the first two Edwards, are among the best that have been written on the general history of England. Still, it is not in this direction that Stubbs found employment for his greatest abilities. He lacked the sense of form and colour which makes the painter, and the strength of real or feigned feeling which makes the orator. He never attempted to picture scenes, and he seldom succeeded in being eloquent. The want of warmth and artistic power is very noticeable in his portraits of great men, of which, as in duty bound, he has left many. Touches of fancy occasionally occur, as when he likens Henry II to one of those mighty and restless spirits of medieval legend who build up gigantic castles in a night, to see them crumble away at dawn; but such instances are rare. It is quite exceptional that an actor on the scene of history elicits from the reserved spectator an outburst of passion, as does John Lackland, the gambler-king. As a rule we get full enumerations of qualities and vices, sound appreciations of policy, and well-balanced contrasts between fathers and sons or between political competitors. Artistic synthesis is a matter, not of argument, but of intuition; and the life which a Michelet or, in a widely different manner, a Ranke imparted to their personages, does not come from reasoning. To infuse it into his personal

sketches was not one of Stubbs's gifts. A significant instance is afforded by the elaborate lectures on Henry VIII's career; they are judicious and convincing, but we do not receive from them a vivid impression of the lion gradually awakening to a consciousness of his overwhelming strength.

The defects of the Bishop in this respect are hardly to be explained by dryness of disposition or indifference, for he was a man of keen feelings, warm affections, and strong likes and dislikes. Behind all these painstaking estimates of character one perceives some uncertainty in the writer's mind. His grasp of personality and personal action is hardly adequate: he seems to require something more solid than human disposition to use his best tools. Clues to the perplexities which beset the historian are often to be found in his writings. How is one to judge of a man's intentions and character on the strength of prejudiced, conflicting, fragmentary testimony? The surest way is, after all, to look to results, although a judgment based on the examination of results must needs disregard motives and assume an impersonal aspect.* In this way Dr Stubbs was gradually led to the domain which was to be particularly his own. Men are intricate beings, made up of half-fulfilled promise and irrational strivings; but their efforts create institutions which, in their impersonal development, are less liable to be misrepresented by contemporaries, and afford better scope for the thoughtful observer of history. It is not the 'false glare of arms' nor the details of personal achievement which give the decisive impulses to a nation's destinies, but the slow processes of its internal growth.† It is not, however, merely in the mechanism of institutions that the expression of these internal forces is to be sought. History has to deal with organism, not with mechanism; and institutions can be studied as products of organic forces.

'If' (he remarks) 'there be such a thing as national character, it must be closely connected with national institutions. In one state of society they grow out of it; in another it is fashioned by them until it seems to grow out of them. They develope together in a free state; in a subject one they affect

* Const. Hist. II, 510.

† Lectures, p. 242; Const. Hist. p. 1.

one another by assimilation or opposition according to the nature and duration of the pressure. What is merely a probable speculation at the best, in regard of character, is, however, a true story applied to institutions.' ('Introductions,' p. 110.)

Thus it is in the study of constitutional development that the Bishop found a fit subject for the unfettered use of his best faculties—patient and exhaustive observation, scrupulous judgment, and a harmonious conception of life. Instead of having to deal with the moods and feats of individuals, he rose to an appreciation of the growth of a collective personality, the English nation itself in its working order and character.

It may be added that the attention of Dr Stubbs was chiefly directed to the institutions of the people and to its classes as political factors. He certainly was not blind to the importance of economic processes and of the development of private law, which are also conditions with which the history of society has to reckon. But he was not a trained economist or lawyer; and there were many historical questions which, as he thought, could be left to the care of specialists in economy and law. We understand the rise of Common Law better nowadays, and do not think of connecting Bracton's treatise with Segrave's particular influence. One of our best guides in early Common Law, Professor Maitland, has taught us also a good deal about Canon Law in England which does not coincide with Stubbs's previsions, although it will always remain to the credit of the elder scholar that he started the enquiry. The description he gave of old English husbandry, the use he made of Domesday-book, the paragraphs he devoted to villainage, to the Black-death, to the rising of 1381, leave much to be desired. The changes which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are treated exclusively from the point of view of combinations and collisions between political groups; and the transformation of society in consequence of the passage from natural to commercial husbandry is hardly glanced at.

But when we have taken note of these shortcomings, almost inevitable in the case of a historian who concentrated his efforts on the institutional side of history, there remains the admirable treatment of this great

aspect of national life, and it is needless to dwell on the greatness of such an achievement.

'The growth of our constitution' (he says) 'was never, at least during the Middle Ages, sensibly affected by philosophical or doctrinaire views. The several steps of growth have been almost always of a character that might seem accidental were it not that, even in their most experimental forms, they testify to an increasing confidence on the part of the rulers in the wisdom of trusting to the people, and a corresponding sense on the people's part of the wisdom of a just and moderate use of their powers as the surest way to retain and increase them. . . . As law took the place of despotism, and organisation succeeded to routine; as peace and security increased wealth, and the consciousness of wealth made peace and security more precious; as the people educated themselves by the exercise of their judicial and economical powers on a small scale for the exercise of the same powers on a great scale—the advance towards a more or less perfect system of self-government was found to be rapidly accelerating. The source of the advance was in the deeper current to which the outward and visible signs of it were ascribable. . . . With the superficial student and the empiric politician it is too common to relegate the investigation of such changes to the domain of archæology. I shall not attempt to rebut the imputation; only if such things are archæology, then archæology is history; and that is as much as its most fervent students would ask for it. If by archæology is meant the science of the obsolete, I deny that they are archæological; it is only to the plucked flower that the root is archæologically related. The healthy nation has a memory as well as aspirations involved in the consciousness of its identity; it has a past no less living than its future. Even the energy that is based on reform and repentance cannot afford to think of that past as the dead burying its dead.'*

The main points of such a development, as brought out in the 'Constitutional History,' are well in keeping with the fundamental principles. It would be impossible and unnecessary to give an abstract of the chief events in a long and winding national career, but we may be allowed to mention some turnings on the significance of which Stubbs laid particular stress. He starts as a thorough Germanist. Without denying possible analogies

* Preface to the 'Chronicle of Roger of Hoveden'; 'Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series,' pp. 201, 202,

in Celtic custom and some influence of Roman civilisation, he does not see sufficient reason for assigning to these factors a definite place in tracing the origins of English institutions. The 'Germania' of Tacitus gives us one of the first glimpses of the germs of English political arrangements; and, in a sense, the Teutonic character of Anglo-Saxon society was even more marked than that of Germany on the Rhine. Taking its start from this fact, Anglo-Saxon development arrives ultimately at a characteristic result—at the formation and vitality of self-governing local bodies. The shires, hundreds, and townships retain a power of tenacious growth even when the Anglo-Saxon state as a unity has 'run to seed' and has fallen a prey to foreign invaders. These foreigners have brought to England the discipline of an energetic central administration; and the interpenetration of the opposing elements in centre and localities shapes the course of further development. The county appears as a fully formed combination of social forces for the purpose of local administration; a second step is achieved when the king utilises this living organisation for the purposes of justice; and the next step brings the country together in the formation of a national parliament.*

Parliamentary government, as it appears in Montfort's scheme, and more definitely in Edward I's system, was the product, not only of a concentration of local machinery, but also of a concentration of estates; and it is important to notice the peculiarity of this process in England. The estates meet in common action, and are represented by bodies which soon assume the character of national and not of class institutions. This is already perceptible in the constitution of the ecclesiastical order, which ceases to be an estate when the lower clergy leave Parliament for Convocation, and in the constitution of the peerage, which connects it with a dignity in the king's council instead of creating a class ennobled by blood. But the most important feature of all is the representative character of the knights of the shires, who attend as deputies of local organisations and not of classes, and are naturally drawn into a common channel with the burgesses and not with the barons.

* Introductions, p. 144.

The chief institution of English political life, Parliament, acquires its characteristic shape in the course of the fourteenth century, and is less prominent in the fifteenth. But the history of this latter epoch is full of meaning for the future. It is noteworthy for the displacement of classes and the beginning of the struggles between prerogative and Parliament. It is ushered in by Richard II's premature attempt at absolutism, and proceeds with the premature trial of parliamentary government in the Lancastrian time. In these oscillations of the political pendulum we may already notice the play of forces which subsequently manifest themselves in the Tudor dictatorship and the anti-constitutional policy of the Stuarts, on the one hand, in the Radicalism of the Commonwealth on the other.* Happily for England neither extreme prevailed in the long run: and the compromise of 1688 was won as the crowning event of a chequered history, in which we need not single out heroes and criminals, but ought rather to look for opposing forces, represented by men most of whom were well-intentioned and honest in their ways, although every one brought his share of prejudice and violence into the contest. It was for the nation at large to draw the balance of these conflicting tendencies in the longer span of life which is given to it; and England has been, on the whole, wise, enduring, and fortunate, although not always consequent and thorough in her aims. One may be tempted to apply to the whole course of English constitutional history the remarks made by Dr Stubbs in regard to one of its periods.

'If the result is a compromise, it is one made between parties which, by honesty and patriotism, are entitled to make with one another terms which do not give to each all that he might ask; and justly so, for the subjects on which the compromise turns, the relations of Church and State, land and commerce, tenure and citizenship, homage and allegiance, social freedom and civil obligation, are matters on which different ages and different nations have differed in theory, and on which even statesmen and philosophers have failed to come to a general conclusion, alike applicable to all ages and nations, as the ideal of good government.' ('Const. Hist.' ii, 304.)

* Const. Hist. iii, 524.

The scholar who began his academic career by stating the truism that 'there are few questions on which as much may not be said on the one side as on the other,' seemed particularly fit to understand and to expound the history of these struggles and compromises.

Stubbs was wont to steady himself in his course, and to illustrate his meaning, by comparisons between England and its neighbours, France, Germany, Spain—comparisons which brought into relief the special features of each case, but never savoured of an invidious or self-complacent disposition. We may take example from the Bishop and place for a moment by his side one or two of his compeers in historical learning in order to make out more clearly his stature and complexion. He reminds one forcibly of Waitz, the great student of German 'Verfassungsgeschichte'; and on the shelves of all historical libraries, by the side of his volumes, may be seen the books of another eminent German—Gneist. It may be a matter of dispute which of the three is more conspicuous for vast knowledge and working strength. But it may fairly be asserted that Stubbs is superior to Waitz in the clearness and firmness of his exposition, and superior to Gneist in scholarly, single-minded treatment of historical facts. Waitz's descriptions resemble sometimes a vast canvas filled with blurred outlines and contradictory shades, in which it is difficult to make out either figures or groups. Gneist knew too much beforehand what he was going to find in English history. He was trying to teach his countrymen reverence for monarchy and the self-government of the gentry; and he would never have written the words—which may stand as a brief summary of the Bishop of Oxford's 'Constitutional History':—

'The idea of a constitution in which each class of society should, so soon as it was fitted for the trust, be admitted to a share of power and control, and in which national action should be determined by the balance maintained between the forces thus combined, never perhaps presented itself to the mind of any medieval politician. . . . Yet, in the long run, this has been the ideal towards which the healthy development of national life in Europe has constantly tended, only the steps towards it have not been taken to suit a preconceived theory.' ('Const. Hist.' ii, 158.)

III.

It is natural to compare the 'Lectures on European History,' published only last year, with the series on Medieval and Modern History collected in 1886. In both the constitutional element is almost entirely absent, while in both Dr Stubbs has a free field for his vivid realisation of character—a quality which is prominent in his 'Introductions to the Rolls Series.' Nevertheless the differences between the two volumes are strongly marked. The several lectures on Medieval and Modern History were given at considerable intervals, on subjects more or less self-contained, but generally in close relation to his special studies. They were probably intended for publication, and were duly corrected for the press. The European series covers a period very long, wide, and complex; there is a common plot round which the lectures are constructed; there is an express disclaimer of research; the lecturer's learning reveals itself rather in the ripeness of conclusions than in the novelty of facts. There is no sign of preparation for publication; it is possible to discover pardonable slips, pleasing indiscretions, tantalising inconsistencies. They are in fact Oxford terminal lectures at their best, aiming rather at utility than elegance, didactic rather than literary. They were helped then, as they still are for those who knew the lecturer, by the sympathy of the voice and the laughter in the eyes. It is not print itself, but the preparation for print that dims the speaker's eye and silences his voice. It is certain that a book should never be delivered as lectures, but not so clear that lectures should never be printed as a book. The spontaneity of informal lectures, as of impromptu letters, makes them easier reading. Byron is less exhausting than Horace Walpole. It may even be regretted that the editor excised the lecturer's colloquialisms, a euphemism at times for curses hurled at objectionable historical characters.

In Dr Stubbs there was a compound of criticism and kindness, impulse and caution. On the whole the impulse and criticism were the more closely mingled, and, though no more real than the other qualities, lay nearer to the surface of his character, and hence are more apparent in

an uncorrected work. Had he printed these lectures, the strong expressions of prejudice might have been softened down; and he might have suppressed the sting-tailed witticisms which are not epigrams, nor exactly *ὀξύμωρα*, but rather *ἀπροσδόκητα*, such as,

'Alva was too able a minister to let well alone.' 'Alençon was a prince of no principle, bad temper, and small capacity except for giving trouble.' 'Scarcely any age has seen three such (great men) as Oxenstiern, Richelieu and Wallenstein, alive at the same time: altogether the mischief they worked in Europe has never been exceeded until the advent of Napoleon.'

He would certainly have deleted the not too cautious prophecies of the future of Germany and Italy, for in his published Essays Dr Stubbs deprecated the use of prophecy; and, indeed, though historians provide the materials for prophecy, their own place is not among the prophets.

When these lectures were delivered, England and Oxford were flooded by a wave of Liberalism. The lecturer's criticism was therefore all the more Conservative. He rarely took the accepted view or followed the popular historian. It is fair to remember that views which have now become commonplaces, were at that time, in the eyes of the average half-educated Liberal, heresies. It was then usual to believe that Charles V aimed at universal domination; that Maurice of Saxony was the hero, Philip of Hesse the martyr, of the Reformation, and William of Orange both; and that the cause of Liberalism had always found its champion in the Hohenzollern as against the Habsburg. For the reign of Charles V English readers still pinned their faith on Robertson; and Robertson's 'characteristic unfairness' was due to his exclusive reliance on French sources and on such old German Protestants as wrote in Latin. In Netherland history Motley held the field; and for the American historian every republican Protestant was saint or hero.

The worship of Robertson and Motley was for Dr Stubbs idolatry; and he set himself to destroy it. In his more elaborate criticism of Robertson he acknowledges his great qualities and services, but in his running comments he is unsparing. When blaming Motley's conception of Charles V, he apparently includes him among

'unintelligent and incompetent critics'; while later he describes him as being 'as inferior to Prescott in fairness, as in the language in which he records his impressions'—a courageous utterance for those days, though it might pass unchallenged now. His fiercest denunciation is, however, launched against the pro-Prussian historians who set themselves to prove that, while the Hohenzollerns were insignificant, the other governing powers were determinately in the wrong, and Prussia, as soon as she existed, invariably in the right; who blackened every Habsburg as a tyrant, strong or petty, shameless or subtle; who, beginning with an imaginary Charles V, and an imaginary policy of universal empire and unflinching repression, represented the whole existence of the dynasty as a sin against society. Intentionally, as he confesses, he takes a lenient view of Habsburg policy, for historical fairness compels us to lean to the Austrian side in spite of its faults.

In his impulses Dr Stubbs was sturdily Teutonic. He had little sympathy for the Latin nations. For Spain he had no hope, owing to 'the incurable wrong-headedness of her politicians.' He almost despaired of the revival of Italy, because she lacked the gift of governance. The development of republics and despotisms presented to him no interesting problems in the morphology of states: 'their internal struggles (he says) are little more worthy of examination than the vagaries of a parish vestry.' He even justifies Austrian rule, for 'Italy richly deserved what she got; and, so far, it was for the good of the world. She exchanged the shadow of liberty for the substance of peace.' Throughout the volume there is scarcely a good word for France. Germany, whether represented by a Habsburg or not, by Catholic or Protestant, is hailed as England's natural and immemorial ally against France. Dr Stubbs saw in the France of his own day the heiress of monarchical vices in a degraded form. Henry IV is described as a Frenchman of the old régime, 'without the debasement and ensavagement that successive struggles of blood and glory have produced in the Frenchman of the ordinary type of to-day.' That king's murder is a subject for congratulation, for his intended humiliation of Austria would have been a misfortune, 'since French ambition has brought infinitely

more misery upon Europe than all the repressive policy of Austria in all the years of her influence.' Through Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin is traced with an unsparing hand 'the traditional policy of France, as strong in the present day as it was then, but modified by the character of the administrator . . . in itself a thoroughly selfish and ungenerous one.' It is fair to add that the strictures on North German intrigues against the Habsburgs are almost equally severe.

In reviewing the religious aspects of his subject, Dr Stubbs is Anglican, as in surveying the international he is Teutonic. He thought it easy for an Englishman to be fair, as far removed from the persecuting repressive instincts of seventeenth-century Jesuitism as from the hypocritical and rapacious intolerance of seventeenth-century Protestantism. But in his balance the weights of the latter sink. Not infrequent are such alliterations as Protestantism and plunder, pirate and Puritan interests. For the Thirty Years' War he holds the Protestant powers the more responsible. He exults over the break-up of the Evangelical Union, for it had done no work except to originate a war in which on every occasion it shirked fighting. So, too, he ascribes the Great Rebellion to the warlike enthusiasm of the English Puritans for the worthless Elector Palatine, which was exhausted before war began and quite quenched by its ill-success. The Puritans forced the war, stopped the supplies necessary to its maintenance, drove the king into unconstitutional proceedings, and then made these the pretext for overthrowing the monarchy.

His predilections for periods are as outspoken as those for countries and parties. The sixteenth century is placed far below the thirteenth, as a century of ideas, real, grand, and numerous.

'Compare the one set of men with the other as men, and the ideas as ideas; and the advantage is wonderfully in favour of the semi-barbarous age, above that of the Renaissance and the Reformation.'

The period of his lectures he divides into three Acts—the age of Charles V, the French Wars of Religion with the war of Netherland Liberation, and the Thirty Years' War. Of these he prefers the third to the first, and the first to

the second. Philip II, Elisabeth, and Henry IV are, he writes, small beside Charles V, Henry VIII, Francis I, and Solyman. On the other hand,

'the best men of the sixteenth century were men of impulse more than of principle . . . even Luther was a man who had a great purpose but an uneducated and disproportionate zeal; whereas men of the seventeenth century had impulses better trained, deeper seated, less easily roused, but more consistent, more proportionate, more thorough.'

Cromwell and Strafford are placed far above Maurice and John Frederick of Saxony, while even the convictions, purpose, and statesmanship of William of Orange, who is an admitted exception to the generalisation, will hardly bear comparison with the heroes of the seventeenth century, much of his glory depending, indeed, on the contrast with contemporary statesmen. After this last verdict, Dr Stubbs concludes his Second Act, the most melodramatic period that the modern world has known, with this strange *envoi*—'But we have had enough of him and perhaps of all of them. The period is not a lively one.' In such utterances there is a petulance, an impatience, almost a perversity, characteristic of impulse, and absent from his greater work. The expressions might pass for extempore ebullitions and affectations, if they were not in the one set of lectures committed by himself to print, and in the other to writing.

The author's power as writer, teacher, and thinker might well be illustrated from the 'Lectures on European History.' Imbedded in the easy, homely narrative are passages of high literary excellence—due either to exceptional finish, or, perhaps, to the fire of enthusiasm or indignation upon which preparation for press might have acted as a damper. Nowhere has his natural vigour of expression received freer play than in his character of Charles V, unfortunately too elaborate to quote here. A marked feature is the constant employment of comparisons, a reflex no doubt of his own vivid interest in personality, but also, perhaps, the skilful lecturer's device; for nothing so surely arrests attention when wandering from the course of narrative. Occasionally centuries far apart are brought into immediate juxtaposition. Thus Prussian policy in 1866 is denounced as immeasur-

ably falser, immeasurably more dishonest than that of Charles V. Again, it would not be difficult to identify the actual modern statesman to whom Henry IV is compared in the following description of the French king's opportunist conscience :—

‘Like the statesman of the present day, he had not the slightest difficulty in training his conscience to believe that the course most expedient for him at the moment was the one which his higher nature recommended to him, which the development of his own views showed him to be the right, nay, which, under a different form, was the course which he had always intended to hold. Such a form of character . . . involves very many decided advantages to the nation that he governs, and is not unfrequently found in connexion with a genuine love of the people, and a purpose, mainly honest, of working for their good. Still, it is a lack of principle, and as such, a fault.’

More often the comparisons lie within the four corners of the lectures, such as that of the character and conduct of John Frederick and Philip of Hesse, of the toleration of Henry IV and the Emperor Maximilian II, of the military talents of Gustavus and Wallenstein, of the political ideals of Wallenstein and his master Ferdinand II, of the courageous perseverance of Ferdinand II and the cowardly presumption of Frederick, Elector Palatine. The teacher is, perhaps, at his best in the last pages of the book, where he shows how neatly his long subject may be classified and labelled, only to prove that this very tidiness hides away half the truth. The whole is permeated by the play of thought. Dr Stubbs is always thinking and making others think. This is why he is so often reputed dull and difficult, for thinking is to most men difficult and to many dull.

Art. II.—HORACE WALPOLE AND WILLIAM COWPER.

1. *The Letters of Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford.* Chronologically arranged and edited with notes and indices by Mrs Paget Toynbee. Sixteen vols. In progress. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
2. *The Correspondence of William Cowper.* Arranged in chronological order with annotations by Thomas Wright. Four vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.

LETTER-WRITERS appeal to our sympathies in many different ways. The historical interest of the subject-matter, the charm of the style, the frankness of the autobiographical self-revelation, in combination with other qualities of infinite variety, contribute to the attraction. In Walpole, we are fascinated by the material and the form; in Cowper, by the man and his manner. It is indeed scarcely possible to imagine greater contrasts than those which are presented by the correspondence of the two men; and the letters of both are significant of their respective lives and characters. Walpole, living among the Gothic artificialities of Strawberry Hill, sharing in all the brilliant gaieties of the aristocratic world, conversant with every intrigue of placeman or fine lady, is full of point, glitter, and antithesis. Cowper, from his retirement in a quiet Buckinghamshire village, shy, timid, and gentle as one of his own hares, lets his playful, whimsical humour flicker over the monotonous trivialities of rural life. Walpole composes in the blaze of the lamps that lit the Pantheon, of the torches that waited on coaches and sedans, or of the wax tapers that illuminated the faro table. Cowper writes, as it were, in the low-ceiled room of a lace-maker's cottage at Olney, by the light of a solitary farthing candle. The letters of the one are revised and annotated by his own hand for publication; the correspondence of the other is his inmost self, and intended for no other eyes but those of the individuals to whom it is addressed. We may grudge Sir Horace Mann the receipt of Walpole's brilliant letters; but we feel that he lost little or nothing by the interruption of personal intercourse. On the other hand, we envy Mrs

Unwin her daily walk in the company of Cowper, in spite of his transient moods of melancholy and religious mania. The one writer dazzles us with his cleverness, amuses us with his epigrams, and leaves us cold towards himself. The other compels our personal interest, evokes our sympathies, and excites, if that is not too violent a word for the nature of the impression, our wish to have known him in the intimacy of everyday life.

Both Walpole and Cowper have been recently re-edited on the modern principle of making the collection as complete as possible, and securing the scrupulous accuracy of the text. We have no complaint to make against either the principle or the practice. All that can be urged against the inclusion of every letter has been said by Walpole when he deploras the injury inflicted on the memory of Madame de Sévigné, his '*Notre Dame des Rochers*,' by her editor's indiscreet revelation of her human infirmity of a sore leg. Probably these complete collections are caviare to the general; and a wise selection of the most characteristic letters might appeal to a wider circle of readers. Few and weary, we think, will be those who persevere to the end of the four volumes in which Cowper's correspondence is collected, or of the sixteen volumes in which the letters of Walpole are to be enshrined. Both are necessarily, from their very completeness, books to dip into here and there; both afford a field in which to practise the art of judicious skipping. On the other hand, both are at once established as standard works of reference, and possess the great advantage of enabling each reader to make his or her own selection out of the abundant material. Nor is this the only merit of two excellent editions. Both are, so far as the text is concerned, definitive. In this respect Mrs Toynbee's scholarly edition is far superior to that of Cunningham, while Mr Wright's chronologically arranged collection of Cowper's letters must necessarily supersede the mutilated, defective, or confused editions of Hayley, Grimshawe, or Southey.

The editor of Cowper asserts that his author is 'universally acknowledged to be the greatest of English letter-writers.' Precisely the same distinction is claimed by Sir Walter Scott for Horace Walpole. Universal consent is a large phrase, which admits neither of proof nor

of refutation. There may be readers to whom Cowper's outpourings of religious feeling are as attractive as Walpole's gems of gossip are repellent. But if the comparative claims of the two writers are to be discussed, in one sense the title must be conceded rather to Cowper than to Walpole. Both wrote in the midst of those wars which, in the eighteenth century, threatened the very existence of Great Britain. It is in Cowper's letters, rather than in those of Walpole, that we recognise the sterling stuff of which the nation was composed, and the solid qualities that enabled the country to emerge victoriously from that tremendous struggle. For this reason, if for no other, Cowper's letters best repay, as they certainly most demand, careful perusal. Very few of Walpole's figures are more than mere names—distinguished names, it is true. But we know less of them than Cowper's unstudied method reveals to us of William Wilson, the barber and wig-maker; Banister, the costive shoe-maker; Daniel Raban, baker and hero of the village pump; James Andrews, sculptor and painter, who taught Cowper drawing; 'Kitch,' the gardener who, on great occasions, donned the smart blue coat discarded by his master; or Ashburner, the gigantic draper and undertaker, whose countenance was stamped with the firm conviction that he was born only to bury others, never to be buried himself. Walpole's figures belong to a different world. But it is not every one who is interested in the fact—even though the heroine is a duchess—that a lady, once married, lay-in twenty-six times, or that a countess had triplets, or that this or that titled lady of fashion betrayed or was betrayed by her husband.

It is, of course, grossly unfair to suggest that there is nothing else in Walpole. On the contrary, the historical value of his letters as a minute chronicle of the events of the time is priceless; and, when he was in the mood, he could paint such a scene as that of the funeral of George II with extraordinary force. But it remains true that vast tracts of Walpole's letters are brilliant anticipations of the ideal to which modern society papers labour to attain. They are composed of the chit-chat of the town, retailed with sparkling gaiety by a man who kept the best company. Not even the vivacity and wit of Walpole can entirely save his gossip from the fate which

would inevitably befall the publication of sixteen volumes of the 'World' or of 'Truth.' There is too much of it, and it becomes wearisome from its perpetual glitter. The station in life of Cowper's actors is more lowly, their situations are unexciting, the occurrences entirely humdrum. The background of his picture is sober and harmonious in colouring, full of quiet observation; in the foreground he has sketched his crowd of figures with an unstudied skill that, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, makes them still alive. His letters, in fact, give us, apart from his revelation of his own character, an abundance of the same kind of material as that on which Miss Austen founded her comedies of real life, and he handles the little dramas with something of her playful yet caustic humour.

Walpole and Cowper never met; and Cowper is not mentioned in Walpole's letters. In Cowper's correspondence there is only one important reference to his contemporary, and that allusion illustrates the sensitive pride of the poet. His publisher, he tells Lady Hesketh in March 1791, 'has repeatedly called on Horace Walpole, and has never found him at home. He has also written to him and received no answer.' No doubt Lady Hesketh had suggested that it would be well for Cowper to obtain Walpole's name as a subscriber to his translation of Homer.

'My back is up' (continues the poet), 'and I cannot bear the thought of wooing him any further, nor would do it, though he were as *pig* a gentleman (look you!) as Lucifer himself. I have Welsh blood in me, if the pedigree of the Donnes say true, and every drop of it says, 'Let him alone'' (iv, 50).

It is most unlikely that, had they met, the two men could ever have become friends. They had indeed some tastes in common. Yet, even where there was community of taste or feeling, the differences were more marked than the resemblances. Cowper adored the memory of his mother, whose portrait was one of his most cherished possessions and inspired his familiar lines. If Walpole felt much for anybody, it certainly was for his mother; and, though he does not seem to have always been on friendly terms with his father, he was a loyal champion of Sir Robert's reputation. Both men were proud of

their descent. Yet here again there was a difference, due partly to circumstances, partly to character. Walpole, the son of an all-powerful minister, exerted himself to draw up his pedigree, establish his ancient lineage, and connect himself with medieval times and Norman barons. It is just possible that there may have been another and more serious motive in this assiduity. Did Walpole believe himself to be, as was often asserted, the illegitimate son of Lady Walpole by Carr, Lord Hervey? Cowper, on the other hand, valued his birth in the same way in which it is valued by men who have fallen on evil days. It gave him a position in society; it saved him from being spoken of as 'that fellow Cowper.' Both men were charming with children. Walpole is at his best in the company of the little Ann Conway, as he shows the best side of his nature in his generosity to his relations and numerous acts of kindness to dependents. Both had many friendships. But Cowper possessed those qualities which peculiarly endeared him to women and won him the true affection of Theodora Cowper, Mary Unwin, Lady Hesketh, and Lady Austen. In Walpole, on the other hand, women found the gifts and attractions of the witty companion rather than those of the intimate friend, unless, indeed, the blind Madame du Deffand carried her infatuation for his genius as far as love, or unless Miss Berry entertained a tenderer feeling for her septuagenarian adorer. Most ladies probably agreed with Madame d'Arblay: 'I like and admire him; but could not love or trust him.'

Both men were kind-hearted lovers of animals. Both had their pets; Walpole his Vandyke cat, with black whiskers and boots; Cowper his pigeons and tame hares. Neither cared for field sports. It would be hard to say which would have found the boisterous society of the fox-hunter most uncongenial. But Cowper was essentially a lover of country life. As a boy he excelled at cricket and football; he had carried a gun, was fond of bathing, and, at one brief period of his life, as a rider, claimed the title of the 'Knight of the Bloody Spur.' Nature did not, however, intend him for a horseman; if she had, the world would have lost 'John Gilpin.' Walpole was as essentially a lover of the town. He could see no difference between a sirloin and a country gentleman; and country

ladies appeared to him a combination of inquisitive hospitality and domestic economy. At Houghton he proclaimed himself a prisoner in a barren melancholy province; the summer had no charms for him if he spent it in the country; and his only comment on the Alps is the exclamation, 'What uncouth rocks!' Both men were ardent gardeners. But Walpole planted for effect, Cowper for the pot. While one cultivated ornamental trees and shrubs, the other was intent on cucumbers, aspired to melons, studied the arts of sowing, pruning, and planting, and attempted every sort of garden produce from cabbages to pine-apples. It is difficult to imagine that Cowper, like Walpole, could ever have called an acacia the 'genteelest of trees.'

Both men loved dogs in their characteristic fashions. If men are known, as it is said, by their friends or by their books, why not by their dogs? Cowper's favourites were 'Beau,' the water-spaniel, whose ears were always delivered by the careful hand of his master from the burs he had gathered in the thickets, or 'Mungo,' the bulldog, with his thunderous bark, wrinkled forehead, and face like an African. In a genuine burst of feeling Walpole protests against the destruction of dogs in London as a protection against hydrophobia: 'The dear, good-natured, honest, sensible creatures! Christ! how can anybody hurt them?' But while Cowper made dogs his friends and walking companions, Walpole treated them as his pets or his mistresses. He adored his 'Tory,' the black King Charles spaniel, 'the prettiest, fattest, dearest creature,' who was carried off by a wolf under his master's eyes, or his silver-fleeced 'Patapan,' in his rainbow ribbon, equally fat, and with adorable eyes, whose portrait was painted by Wootton, the Landseer of George II's reign.

Both men loved literature; both were readers as well as writers. But Walpole's taste was less fastidious and far more catholic in range. Both admired Pope, yet for different reasons. To Walpole the point, the finish, the antithesis appealed most strongly; Cowper, though he thought him 'a disgusting letter-writer,' admired his capacity to write strongly and his contempt for false ornament. A poor man, with but 'twenty books in the world,' Cowper read within a narrower range, restricted partly by taste, partly by a meagre library. In the summer

he was in the garden all day, 'giddy-headed' as a boy'; in the winter 'lumpish,' and absorbed in his books. He abhorred political writings. For fiction he had no taste; Barclay's 'Argenis' was the only romance he ever read through. He eschewed philosophy, and says that he avoided poetry because he wrote it himself and feared to become an imitator. Condemned to stay at home, yet curious to learn about foreign countries, books of travel seem to have been his favourite reading. Religious, historical, and general literature was included in a range which was sufficiently varied. Medical works occasionally appear in his list; and his curiosity in this direction would have marked him out as a gold-mine to the modern purveyor of quack medicines. Simplicity was what he most missed in modern writers; he found it in Swift and Addison and Pope, but with them the power of writing simply seemed to him to have disappeared. For the sturdy sense and forcible expression of Samuel Johnson he had the greatest admiration. But he despised him for presuming to write about love, a passion which he supposed the Doctor had never experienced in his life. From his critical judgments, and especially from his depreciation of Milton, he dissented, and dissented so strongly that he would have liked to 'thresh his old jacket' till he made 'his pension jingle in his pocket.'

As with Cowper's reading, so with his other tastes. They were narrowly limited. A wide world of interest, which fills so great a space in modern life, was excluded from his horizon. The Gothic revival, in which the contemporary letter-writer was a pioneer, would have seemed to Cowper, had it come within his observation, affected and artificial. He collected nothing. For pictures or statuary he had cultivated no taste. The glamour of illuminated missals, the lore of bindings, the mysteries of type, the science of rare editions, passed him by unmoved. He showed no inclination to explore the antiquities of his neighbourhood, far less to make pilgrimages, like his contemporary, to see its ancient houses, its feudal castles, its medieval monuments. It is certainly not in the language of enthusiasm that he speaks of our forefathers' 'vast rambling mansions,' their 'little gardens and high walls, their box-edgings, balls of holly, and yew-tree statues.' On the contrary, he wonders that a

people who 'resembled us so little in their taste should resemble us in anything else.' In these limitations Cowper was essentially a man of the prosaic, matter-of-fact eighteenth century; and his poetry, with all its charm, belongs to the period.

To Walpole a wider range was opened. The religious world, in the sunshine or gloom of which Cowper alternately expanded or cowered, was to him an unknown territory. In other directions he was a pioneer and a discoverer. Where a man had so much taste, some at least was inevitably bad. No doubt his Strawberry Hill, with its battlements, turrets, corkscrew staircases, and painted glass, was an appropriate 'Castle of Otranto' for the residence of an 'old English Baron,' as he was then understood. His zeal for antiquity was too enthusiastic to be according to knowledge. He collected miscellaneous, and in all probability, as we should now think, indiscriminately. We may tremble for the authenticity of his busts, his engraved gems, his medals, and his pedigree. There can be no question that modern critics would decide that his pictures were by any artist other than the individuals to whom he attributed their execution. He was a 'virtuoso,' a 'dilettante,' but he was also a real connoisseur. It is perhaps unfortunate for his reputation that his treasures were sold in 1842, in the early Victorian era of British Philistinism. The wits made merry at the expense of his collections. A parody of the catalogue drawn up by the famous auctioneer, Robins, was printed under the title of *Gooseberry Hall*, in which Robins appears as 'Mr Scattergoods'; and the house and its contents are turned into ridicule. But, with all his faults of amateurishness, Walpole did good service to a true taste for art and the scientific pursuit of antiquarian studies. So too, as a man of letters, his capacity in serious literature was greater than his performance. Had he piqued himself less on being an amateur, he might have produced work of a solid and lasting kind. Byron, with characteristic egotism, remarks that Walpole received scant justice as a writer, owing to the fact that he was, 'firstly . . . a nobleman, and secondly . . . a gentleman.' Whether this was the case or not, Walpole's letters are incomparable; and his 'Memoirs,' in spite of their prejudices, are not only brilliant but invaluable to historians.

The 'Mysterious Mother' is a stranger to the footlights, and no one now yawns over the 'Castle of Otranto'; yet, to quote Byron's exaggerated estimate of the noble author, he was 'the father of the first romance and of the last tragedy in our language, and surely worthy of a higher place than any living writer, be he who he may.'

In outward circumstances no two men could be more dissimilar than Walpole and Cowper. A member of Parliament and a sinecure placeman, Walpole lived in the centre of the gay world. In his town house at Arlington Street or in his visits to Paris he was always in the very heart of social and political life. Now masquerading as Aurungzebe or disguised as an old woman at a ball, now sitting out a debate in the House of Commons, now treading on princes at Ranelagh, now picnicking at Vauxhall, now winning a *milleleva* at the faro table, now cheapening a gem in the auction room, now hurrying to see a fire in his slippers and embroidered suit, he was always engaged in collecting—to use his own words—'the follies of the age for the information of posterity.' An indefatigable playgoer, a subscriber to the opera, a dancing senator who passed from the House to the ballroom and retired to bed at five in the morning, he yet nursed a flimsy constitution and kept a cool head. His excursions into the country to see historic houses were but short interludes in the course of his urban life. Even when he retired to Strawberry Hill he was only at Twickenham and within easy reach of the metropolis. In 1747 he had bought the lease 'of a little farm just out of Twickenham' from Mrs Chenevix, the keeper of the fashionable 'toy-shop,' and a year later he acquired the freehold. On the farm stood a small house, built by Lord Bradford's coachman and called in the neighbourhood 'Chopped Straw Hall,' because its builder was supposed to have made his money by feeding his master's horses on chopped straw. There Walpole gradually built the castellated Gothic villa which at once became, as he himself says, 'the puppet-show of the times.' There he directed his carpenters, hurried his plasterers, scolded his paperhangers, or aided his glaziers to arrange, in two-and-thirty windows, the masses of painted glass which he had accumulated. There he entertained his guests, designed his chimney-pieces, laid out his walks

and gardens, wrote, read, and superintended his printing-press, or stored, arranged, rearranged, and exhibited his miscellaneous collections. There he played at farming, and invited his friends to a hay-making, a sheep-shearing, a sillabub under the cow, or an evening's fishing for gold-fish in the pond which he called 'Poyang.'

These pursuits were the serious business of Walpole's life. When he passed from the House of Commons to the ballroom he thought the performers in the latter were the most in earnest of the two; and it may be said in defence of his opinion that what men say to women is generally at least as sincere as what politicians say to the country. 'I am certainly,' he wrote to Conway in 1774, 'the greatest philosopher in the world, without ever having thought of being so; always employed and never busy; eager about trifles, indifferent to everything serious.' A man with such a temperament was fitted to shine in society. His long lean figure, arrayed in a lavender suit, a waistcoat embroidered with silver, ruffles and frill of lace, partridge-silk stockings, and gold-buckled shoes, was familiar in London assemblies for half a century. His dark penetrating eyes were set in a face the complexion of which was unhealthily pale. His wig, worn in the summer without powder, was queued behind and combed straight, showing up the smoothness of his forehead. As he slid into the room, *chapeau bras* compressed in his hands or held under his arm, walking according to the affected gait prescribed by the fashion of the day, with his knees bent and on tiptoe, there was a flutter of anticipation in the assembly. Affected and lively, gay and caustic, polite and sneering, he had the reputation of saying, in a soft pleasant voice, 'better things than anybody,' though in genuine wit he was inferior to his friend George Selwyn. Armed with the newest epigram, equipped with the latest scandal, telling his stories with brilliant point, exchanging the thrust and parry of his wit with all comers, ready with the neat trifles of complimentary verse, Walpole in society presented a striking contrast to the recluse who, at Olney, in the company of two female friends, read aloud for two hours to make amends for his silence during the day.

Unlike Walpole, Cowper, though he could rhyme, could not rattle. His natural shyness was increased by

the seclusion of his country life. For nearly thirty years (1767-95) he lived at, or near, Olney, in Buckinghamshire, on the flat banks of the sluggish Ouse. On every side, whether the traveller arrives from Bedford, from Newport Pagnell, from Northampton, or from Wellingborough, low hills slope so gently down to the broad valley of the river that the town lies rather in a saucer than a cup. The long street, the market square, the church, Cowper's house, the lengthy bridge spanning the wide meadows, remain the same as they were a hundred and fifty years ago. Many of the houses are unchanged. Over more than one of the shops stand names familiar to Cowper; two Rabans at least still ply their respective trades. Here Cowper passed his life, haunted by dread of the recurrence of his malady, driven by want of occupation to become a gardener, an artist, a bird-cage maker, and, if we trust his own diffident estimate of his inspiration, a poet. So rarely did he leave the neighbourhood that he compares himself to a cockle or a shrimp deposited in the cranny of a rock by the waves of some great storm. Yet he never wearied of his surroundings. His love of nature, partly inborn, partly the effect of habit, made every object in the fields a delight, and enabled him to look on the same tree or the same stream every day with a new interest. Only rural sounds broke upon his ear. The ass that brayed outside the greenhouse in which he sat and wrote might momentarily interrupt the thread of his thoughts; but the cackle of the fowls—they were indeed his own—of the geese was not more disturbing to him than the whistle of the linnets in the orchard or the murmuring of the bees in the beds of mignonette. He had not, he said, a leg that was not tied to Olney; and if they had been at liberty not one would have hopped to London. He shuddered at the grim association of the great city with his past life. The thought of it distressed him; the sight of it would, he believed, have crazed him.

In Cowper's day there were in Olney

'One parson, one poet, one bellman, one crier,
And the poor poet is our only 'squire.'

Recluse though he was and straitened in circumstances, Cowper was always scrupulously careful that his dress

should correspond with his position. His coat and knee-breeches were of green and drab. His wig was a 'very decent head-dress,' not easily distinguished from his natural growth of hair, 'worn with a small bag and a black ribband' about his neck. It was surmounted by a hat, in the selection of which he was particular. He expressed his abhorrence of a 'round slouch,' and desired a 'smart, well-cocked, fashionable affair.' He was nice in the choice of his yard-wide muslin neck-cloths, and was only willing to give them up if stocks were pronounced to be more fashionable. Half in banter, half in earnest, he rejoiced in the possession of the most elegant buttons in the country, and of a waistcoat which was the great admiration of the ladies. His shoe-buckles were of silver; and he was ready to give five-and-twenty shillings for such a stock-buckle as would make a figure in Olney. He had not as many snuff-boxes as would be needed for the hundred noses of an Oriental idol; but he carried at least three, one oval in shape, another with a picture of hares, and a third with a representation of the Peasant's Nest on the lid. His ruffles were the work of Lady Austen; his stockings were knitted by Mrs Unwin; and his shoes were of London make.

Olney, a town 'pretty clean in summer-time, and full of poor folks,' supplied few incidents and fewer anecdotes. Occurrences were as rare as cucumbers in December. Intercourse with the outer world, whether by the waggon which left the 'George' or the 'Windmill' in Smithfield on Tuesday morning, or by the Wellingborough diligence, which three times a week started from the 'Cross-keys,' also in Smithfield, was to modern ideas slow and intermittent. Few visitors braved the journey. But Cowper's friends knew his love of fish; gifts of cod and shrimps and oysters, or salmon and lobsters, arrived in from sixteen to eighteen hours from London. They were repaid with grateful thanks, or in kind, with fowls or home-fed bacon, ropes of onions, cheeses, or eggs, if they could be spared from harvest puddings. More rarely comes a sturgeon. Once a bustard is announced; but Cowper omits to mention whether the bird was good on the table. Commissions were exchanged between town and country. Cowper sends for tooth-brushes or bohea, and gives orders, to be

executed for his friends, for Buckinghamshire lace at threepence three-farthings the yard. The present of a cuckoo clock, 'made in Germany,' and sold 'in that narrow part of Holborn which leads into Broad Street, St Giles's, kept the household in a fever of delight; and Hannah Wilson, the maid-servant, lay awake all night to hear its music. A second gift consisted of 'two neat little pieces of furniture.' Lady Hesketh called them *chiffoniers*; but what the word meant Cowper was not, as he says, 'Frenchman enough to discover.' At another time he records the arrival of a pair of candle-snuffers, or 'rather, candle-snappers,' and praises them as an invention which had converted a disagreeable task into an amusement. In an existence so monotonous small occurrences were events. When fires took place, they were chronicled with all the importance that they deserved in a cluster of straw-thatched houses surrounded by a winter's fuel. Elections made a vast clatter in the belfry and some small stir in the streets. The arrival of a giant or a lion at Cherry Fair (June 29) was heralded with a flourish of the pen as well as with roll of drum and blare of trumpet.

As Cowper had lived at Huntingdon in 1766, so, with trifling changes, he continued to live at Olney or at Weston.

'We breakfast' (he says) 'commonly between eight and nine; till eleven we read either the Scripture or the sermons of some faithful preacher of those holy mysteries; at eleven we attend divine service, which is performed here twice every day; and from twelve to three we separate and amuse ourselves as we please. During that interval I either read in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We seldom sit an hour after dinner, but, if the weather permits, adjourn to the garden, where, with Mrs Unwin and her son, I have generally the pleasure of religious conversation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converse within doors or sing some hymns of Martin's collection, and, by the help of Mrs Unwin's harpsichord, make up a tolerable concert. . . . After tea we sally forth to walk in good earnest. Mrs Unwin is a good walker, and we have generally travelled about four miles before we see home again. When the days are short we make this excursion in the former part of the day, between church-time and dinner.

At night we read and converse, as before, till supper, and commonly finish the evening either with hymns or a sermon; and, last of all, the family are called to prayers. ('Letters,' vol. i, pp. 80, 81.)

In later life the daily round thus described was adapted to Cowper's literary work. For a brief interval, while Lady Austen was an inmate of his household, evening amusements were tolerated. While Mrs Unwin strummed the harpsichord, 'to the accompaniment of a howling dog,' Cowper played spillikins, or battledore and shuttlecock, with his lively friend. Cards he never played. He used his card-table as a writing-desk, as a dining-table, for every purpose, in short, except that for which it was designed.

In the eighteenth century, country towns, like country villages, were self-sufficing. Difficulties of communication made them dependent on themselves for the ordinary supplies of food, clothing, and amusements. County families, instead of a season in London, formed their own society in the nearest town. Huntingdon, for example, had its card assembly, its dancing assembly, its horse race, its club, its bowling green. The place, as Cowper says, swarmed with amusements, 'devices,' as, in his evangelical fervour he thought them, 'for murdering time.' Cards and dancing were the 'professed business of almost all the *gentle* inhabitants.' His refusal to share in these gaieties gained him the reputation of a Methodist. The reputation is undeserved if sympathy with the peculiar tenets of the Wesleys is implied in the epithet. But at Olney, where he was the only squire, there was no society. Except for his own household and a few men of the type of Newton and Bull, the master of an academy at Newport Pagnell, who dined with him once a fortnight all the year round, he had no associates of his own rank or tastes. The village had, however, the reputation of being 'Methodistical.' Sunday was observed with a strictness which the soldiers at Newport Pagnell tried to disturb—with no result except the loss of an officer's sword, which was cried by the bellman on Monday. William Wilson, the barber, and critic of 'John Gilpin,' would not have waited on the king himself on a Sunday. Lady Austen was obliged to have

her hair dressed on Saturday and to forgo her night's rest if she would not have it disarranged for the next day.

Deprived of associates, both from choice and necessity, and without any taste for the strenuous idleness of sport, Cowper studied, with quiet kindly amusement, the characters of the village quidnuncs as they gathered at the blacksmith's shop. Thomas Raban, carpenter, preacher, and coffin-maker, and Samuel Teedon, the schoolmaster, devout, long-winded, and polysyllabic, were indeed admitted to some degree of intimacy; and the latter acquired over him in later years an extraordinary influence. But the gallery of local sketches contains many other portraits of his humble neighbours, drawn with life-like touches. Such was Tom Freeman, the stout gingerbread man, with his gingerbread wife, who carried his cooking apparatus and his wares in huge wooden panniers on horseback to all the fairs in the country. Another was the sturdily-built solitary who drew patterns for the lacemakers, but kept no other company than that of his own exceedingly protuberant belly, for he was never observed to speak to a neighbour. A third was George Mayne, the Weston farmer, who, in the days of his health, gloried in the belief that no part of him or his two mastiffs would survive the grave, and yet gained the posthumous credit of conversion by desiring to be buried in his own pew—to make amends, as Cowper suggests, for never having visited it in his lifetime.

No class described by Cowper has undergone so great a change as the country clergy. Walpole contributes a touch to the picture of clerical life, though he chiefly concerns himself with intrigues for bishoprics, or with prelates who only admitted their clergy to their presence if their visitors were attired in full canonicals. When he was showing a friend over Strawberry Hill she described it as 'just such a house as a parson's, where the children lie at the foot of the bed.' Perhaps the overhoused and overrated clergy of the present day might think their predecessors were in this respect more suitably accommodated than themselves. But it is plain that, whatever the fate of non-resident pluralists, the actual parochial work in rural districts was done by men the conditions of whose lives differed little from those of a modern agricultural labourer. Such a man was the

Rev. Isaac Nicholson, a curate of thirty-five years of age, whom Cowper met at Huntingdon in 1765,

'very poor, but very good and very happy. He reads prayers here twice a day all the year, round, and travels on foot to serve two churches every Sunday through the year, his journey out and home again being sixteen miles.'

Cowper supped with him on bread and cheese, flanked by a black jug of ale brewed by his own hands. At Olney the curate kept no servant; a woman came in once a day to make his bed and dress his dinner, and for the rest of the time left him to his lucubrations. Nor were the clergy as a rule on the side of sobriety. But for its emoluments, Cowper says, they would rather suppress the Church than restrict the sale of strong beer. 'Many of the most profligate characters are the men to whom the morals and souls of their neighbours are entrusted.' The laity had ceased to respect them—such, at any rate, was Cowper's experience; and he did not think that 'the diocese of Lincoln' was more unfortunate than others.

Where Walpole and Cowper describe a similar scene the essential differences in their habits, surroundings, and associates are strongly marked. Compare, for example, a picnic at Olney and at Vauxhall. We may be sure that, before the day for the country picnic was chosen, Cowper had carefully consulted the leech in a bottle which served as his weather-glass. No change ever surprised it, and it was always possessed of the earliest and most accurate intelligence. Yet it had cost only sixpence—but a groat above the market price. The oracle seems to have proved favourable.

'Yesterday se'nnight' (writes Cowper, vol. i, pp. 335, 336) 'we all dined together in the Spinnie—a most delightful retirement belonging to Mrs Throckmorton of Weston. Lady Austen's lackey, and a lad that waits on me in the garden, drove a wheelbarrow full of eatables and drinkables to the scene of our *fête champêtre*. A board laid over the top of the wheelbarrow served us for a table; our dining-room was a root-house lined with moss and ivy. At six o'clock the servants, who had dined under a great elm upon the ground, at a little distance, boiled the kettle, and the said wheelbarrow served us for a tea-table. We then took a walk into the wilderness, about half a mile off, and were at home again

a little after eight, having spent the day together from noon till evening without one cross occurrence, or the least weariness of each other, a happiness few parties of pleasure can boast of.

The whole scene has about it a restful charm; but it belongs to another age, almost to another world. We can hardly imagine anything more humdrum or more alien to the tastes of the present generation than its simplicity, its quiet, its protracted duration. Walpole's entertainment is of quite a different character (vol. ii, pp. 452-456). He describes the scene at Vauxhall with astonishing vigour and vivacity; but the passage is far too long to quote in its entirety. Walpole and a party of friends were invited by Lady Caroline Petersham, in June 1750, to supper at Vauxhall. He called at his hostess's house at half-past seven, when she and 'little Ashe' had just finished putting on 'their last layer of red.' They looked 'as handsome as crimson could make them.' Gathering the rest of the party as they went, they sailed up the Mall, with all their colours flying, encountering on their way Lady Caroline's husband, 'with his nose and legs twisted to every point of crossness.' They bore his rebuff as best they could, and made their way to their barge, 'with a boat of French horns attending and little Ashe singing. We paraded some time up the river, and at last debarked at Vauxhall.' Narrowly escaping a quarrel in the Gardens, they finally assembled at their booth—

'Lady Caroline in the front, with the vizard of her hat erect, and looking gloriously jolly and handsome. . . . We minced seven chickens in a china dish, which Lady Caroline stewed over a lamp with three pats of butter and a flagon of water, stirring, and rattling, and laughing, and we every minute expecting to have the dish fly about our ears. She had brought Betty, the fruit-girl, with hampers of strawberries and cherries from Rogers's, and made her wait upon us, and then made her sup by us at a little table. The conversation was no less lively than the whole transaction.' In a little time the party had monopolised the attention of the garden; 'so much so that, from eleven o'clock till half an hour after one, we had the whole concourse round our booth. At last they came into the little gardens of each booth on the sides of ours, till Harry Vane took up a bumper and drank their

healths, and was proceeding to treat them with still greater freedom. It was three o'clock before we got home' (ii, 453).

In Cowper we feel that the whole atmosphere of life has altered. In Walpole we recognise changes; but they are rather in degree than in kind. Living in such different surroundings, the two writers not only handle their material with characteristic dissimilarity, but treat of subjects that seem essentially alien. Life, both in town and country, has doubtless changed its external features in many striking particulars. Yet Walpole's world seems less strange to us than that of Cowper. The town has not assimilated itself to the country. On the contrary, the country has approximated to the town; and no broad lines of distinction now divide the squire from the courtier, the farmer from the tradesman, the rustic from the citizen. Reading Cowper's letters, we stand at a greater distance from our own times than we do with Walpole as our guide.

Certain elements of picturesqueness and romance have vanished. The occupation of the blacksmith of Gretna Green is gone; the race of Fleet parsons is extinct. Smugglers no longer hang in chains on the Sussex Downs. Naval officers of to-day may sigh in vain for the chances of bringing into our harbours captured treasure-ships valued at 500,000*l.*, as they did in the wars of George II. It is not from fear of gentlemen of the road that evening wayfarers are timid of crossing Hyde Park; nor do travellers, starting on a noonday journey, now arm themselves as if for battle. Temple Bar has disappeared; and speculators can no longer sell halfpenny peeps through a spy-glass, as they did in 1746, at the heads of traitors impaled upon the spikes. There is less of the door-knocker and more of the latch-key about our immoralities. Athleticism has superseded conversation. *Bilboquet*, or cup and ball, is a forgotten recreation. The sportsman of to-day does not import his gun-barrels from Pistoia. Duelling has passed away. Dress has lost its individuality and assumed the monotony of a uniform type. In drunkenness modern society recognises an offence against itself instead of the stamp of good breeding. The hours of weddings, of dinners, and of other social functions have changed. 'Fashion,' wrote Walpole in 1753, 'has so far prevailed over custom that,

at Oxford, the dinner hour has been changed from twelve to one'; he himself then dined at two. Balls began at eight; supper was served at twelve; tea, coffee, and departure were fixed for four in the morning. But nowadays it is impossible to imagine that a dozen of the young men should stay on till seven, and, in those three hours, drink thirty-two bottles of wine. A generation which remembers the sacrifice of the Derby holiday may hear with wonder that the House of Commons adjourned *en masse* at three in the afternoon to see 'Othello' played at Covent Garden by a company of amateurs; but such an event would scarcely surprise the world more than the assembly of half the members of White's in a Newgate cell to take leave of a condemned highwayman. Gambling is comparatively restricted by sobriety or natural prudence; fox-hunters do not carry sets of dice and boxes in their pockets to throw a main whenever the hounds are at fault. Betting has become a matter of business, a question of arithmetical calculation. It is less fantastic, perhaps less humorous. Certainly in the twentieth century it is scarcely possible to imagine two such bets as the following. A man dropped dead in the street opposite White's. He was carried into the club, where the members wagered heavily whether he was dead or alive. But when the doctors drew their lancets to bleed him the wagers for the death interposed on the ground that the operation would affect the fairness of the bet. Again, in 1756 a match was made for 500*l.* between two noble lords to be walked by six geese and six turkeys between Norwich and Mile End turnpike, the winner to be the person who brought 'most cattle' alive to the turnpike. Yet, in spite of these and a hundred other differences, London society has not undergone the same revolution which has transformed rural life.

Walpole's letters, in fact, suggest comparisons with contemporary society almost as often as they suggest contrasts. What can be more modern than Walpole's description of the tyrannical fashion which compels people to go out of London every week-end, even if they only transport themselves to another town? Tea-drinking is generally supposed to be a modern excess. No one would think of associating the practice with the middle of the eighteenth century, when more serious drinking

was at its highest wine-mark. Yet Walpole declares that a new duty on tea was insupportable, because tea had become so universal that it would make a greater clamour than a duty on wine. The present importations of Parisian fashions of dress and cookery are nothing new. Mrs Chenevix, the 'noted toy-shop' woman, may not have called herself Madame Chenevix, nor did the Keppel Inn advertise itself as the Hotel Keppel. Yet Walpole in 1748 tells us that 'all our milliners, tailors, tavern-keepers, and young gentlemen are tiding to France for our improvement and luxury.' Nor were 'flannelled fools' unknown in the days of Walpole. The worship of athletics is not a modern cult. 'A ballad,' writes Walpole in 1742, 'is the only thing in fashion except cricket matches'; and he elsewhere describes Lord Mountford as a peer who had gained a reputation by fetching up 'parsons by express from different parts of England to play cricket matches on Richmond Green.'

What, again, can be more like our own times than the picture of the Duke of Newcastle at a military review hurrying, glass in eye, up and down the ranks, crying out, 'Finest troops, finest troops! greatest general!' The only difference seems to be that the want of reticence which was peculiar to the Prime Minister has become a characteristic of the nation. Young ladies of the present day are often reproached with the calculating prudence of their matrimonial projects. Whether the accusation is true or false, they are no worse than their predecessors, though perhaps they think their thoughts less aloud. In 1760 Lord Huntingtower, the eldest son of Lord Dysart, fell in love with one of Walpole's nieces, a young lady to whom he had never spoken. Addressing himself to the girl's father, he was referred to the daughter for an answer.

'On receiving the notification she said very sensibly, "If I was but nineteen I would refuse point blank; I do not like to be married in a week to a man I never saw. But I am two-and-twenty; some people say I am handsome, some say I am not. I believe the truth is I am likely to be large and to go off soon—it is dangerous to refuse so great a match."'

One hundred and fifty years ago, society was completely conquered by a pack of cards. With a few

changes in detail the conquest has been paralleled in our own day. In 1742 whist was coming rapidly into fashion, with Hoyle for its tutelary deity. 'I have not yet learned to play,' says Walpole, 'but I find that I wait in vain for its being left off.' The same reluctance to be swept into a vortex of card-playing was the experience of many yesterday, if not to-day. 'Whisk,' he writes elsewhere, 'has spread an universal opium over the whole nation; it makes courtiers and patriots sit down to the same pack of cards.' Substitute bridge for whist, free-trader for courtier, tariff-reformer for patriot, and the scene is reproduced. Walpole even attributes the absence of wonders—the disappearance of rabbit-women, epics, and elopements—to the paralysing popularity of the new game. To-day it seems as rare to elope as it is to write an epic; and there is the supernatural touch about a rabbit-woman which makes her more likely to obtain credit than the author of an *Æneid* or a pair of 'Eloping Angels.' But though a new list of marvels might be needed to complete the parallel, it would be easy to show that bridge, like whist, has falsified the proverb, 'wonders will never cease.'

A man endowed with Walpole's genius, who pursued trifles as his serious occupation and diverted himself with the comical earnestness of the real business of life, was eminently fitted to shine in society and excel as a letter-writer. The tone of irresponsibility which pervades his correspondence gives it an infectious air of gaiety but leaves no space for depth of feeling. It is not so much the choice of subjects, but the manner in which all are handled, that is frivolous. Walpole never mentions John Wesley. Too much stress need not be laid on the omission. Wesley is not mentioned by Cowper, who, though he contributed so largely to the evangelical revival within the Church of England, does not seem to have been attracted to Methodism in the distinctive and modern sense of the word. It was considered 'Methodistical' not to play cards on Sunday; and a maid-of-honour lost her place at court for declining to play. With that side of the movement which required a greater strictness of life Cowper was strongly sympathetic. But his one reference to Charles Wesley, under the transparent title of 'Occiduous,' is one of disapproval.

'Lady Austen' (he says) 'has been at his sabbatical concerts, which, it seems, are composed of song-tunes and psalm-tunes indiscriminately; music without words—and, I suppose one may say, consequently without devotion. . . . He seems, together with others of our acquaintance, to have suffered considerably in his spiritual character by his attachment to music.'

Walpole's remarks on Methodism are conceived in a different spirit. Thus, in 1748, speaking of the movement, he says:—

'This nonsensical *new light* is extremely in fashion, and I shall not be surprised if we see a revival of all the folly and cant of the last age.' Again, in 1749: 'Methodism is more fashionable than anything but brag; the women play devilish deep at both—as deep, it is much suspected, as the matrons of Rome did at the mysteries of Bona Dea' (ii, 336, 367).

Yet he was sufficiently interested in the movement to make some effort to study the causes of its influence. In the same year he says:—

'You asked me about the principles of the Methodists; I have tried to learn them, and have read one of their books. The *visible* part seems to be nothing but stricter practice than that of our Church, clothed in the old exploded cant of mystical devotion. For example, you take a metaphor; we will say our passions are *weeds*; you immediately drop every description of the passions and adopt everything peculiar to weeds; in five minutes a true Methodist will talk with the greatest compunction of *hoeing*—this catches women of fashion and shopkeepers. I forgot to tell you' (he continues) 'a piece of Methodism, which is that they write up religious nonsense everywhere, and have extremely purified the style of writing on public walls; they now scribble the name of the Prince of Peace instead of the Princess!' (ii, 402-3).

Yet Walpole could see some good points in the religious revival. Thus, in 1760 he says (iv, 399):—

'I met a rough officer in his' (John Hawkins's) 'house t'other day who said he knew such a person was turning Methodist, for, in the middle of conversation, he rose and opened the window to let out a moth. I told him I did not know that the Methodists had any principle so good, and that I, who am certainly not on the point of becoming one, always did so too.'

As a politician Walpole's attitude towards the Govern-

ment of the country was not wholly inappropriate. Public affairs were administered by methods which commanded little respect. They were only redeemed from absurdity by the conduct of individuals or the virtues of party loyalty. Political life was an intrigue for power, a scramble for place, a traffic in votes. It was a trade in which it was difficult to engage with clean hands, a game in which all tricks were considered to be fair. With many protestations of incorruptibility, Walpole consented to share in the division of the stakes. But, though he had not the inconvenient conscience of the reformer, he knew too much, and was too discerning to attempt to ignore abuses. He accepted the situation. He adopted the attitude of irresponsible frivolity, and surrounded the Government with an atmosphere of *opera-bouffe*, in which the comic business of stage statesmen was carried on under the disguise of earnestness. But the truth was not concealed from him. Writing on the eve of an election in 1747, he says:—

‘In general, I believe, it is much as usual—those sold in detail that afterwards will be sold in the representation; the ministers bribing Jacobites to choose friends of their own; the name of well-wishers to the present establishment, and Patriots, outbidding ministers that they may make the better market of their own patriotism; in short, all England, under some name or other, is just now to be bought and sold; though, whenever we become posterity and forefathers, we shall be in high repute for wisdom and virtue’ (ii, 281).

Cowper, though not in any sense a party man, was probably rather Whig than Tory in his sympathies. He had no patent-office to defend or excuse. Remote from the world, unfitted and disinclined by nature for political life, he watched, with keenly humorous eyes, the comedy of a representative system, which, apart from its general results, had degenerated into a farce. His description of the visit of a candidate to his house in 1784 is well known; but it may be quoted as an example of the simple ease and purity of the style of his letters, and as an illustration of the light in which thoughtful bystanders regarded the working of our electoral system.

‘We were sitting yesterday after dinner, the two ladies and myself, very composedly, and without the least appre-

hension of any such intrusion in our snug parlour, one lady knitting, the other netting, and the gentleman winding worsted, when, to our unspeakable surprise, a mob appeared before the window; a smart rap was heard at the door; the boys halloo'd; and the maid announced Mr Grenville. Puss was unfortunately let out of her box, so that the candidate, with all his good friends at his heels, was refused admittance at the grand entry, and referred to the back door as the only possible way of approach.

'Candidates are creatures not very susceptible of affronts, and would rather, I suppose, climb in at a window than be absolutely excluded. In a minute the yard, the kitchen, and the parlour were filled. Mr Grenville, advancing toward me, shook me by the hand with a degree of cordiality that was extremely seducing. As soon as he, and as many more as could find chairs, were seated, he began to open the intent of his visit. I told him I had no vote, for which he readily gave me credit. I assured him I had no influence, which he was not equally inclined to believe, and the less, no doubt, because Mr Ashburner, the draper, addressing himself to me at this moment, informed me that I had a great deal. Supposing that I could not be possessed of such a treasure without knowing it, I ventured to confirm my first assertion by saying that if I had any I was utterly at a loss to imagine where it could be, or wherein it consisted. Thus ended the conference. Mr Grenville squeezed me by the hand again, kissed the ladies, and withdrew. He kissed likewise the maid in the kitchen, and seemed upon the whole a most loving, kissing, kind-hearted gentleman. He is very young, genteel, and handsome. He has a pair of very good eyes in his head, which, not being sufficient as it should seem for the many nice and difficult purposes of a senator, he has a third also, which he wore suspended by a ribband from his buttonhole. The boys halloo'd; the dogs barked; Puss scampered; the hero, with his long train of obsequious followers, withdrew' (ii, 182).

For refusing to take too seriously the sordid intrigues of professional politicians Walpole can scarcely be condemned. But political events in the latter half of the eighteenth century were of a sombre magnitude which harmonised ill with the brilliant glitter of his universal *blague*. The fate of empires were staked on the wars in which Great Britain was almost continuously engaged. Yet still Walpole preserved, or affected to preserve, the

same indifferent attitude. 'To be sure,' he says, 'war is a dreadful calamity, etc. But then it is a very comfortable commodity for writing letters.' Cowper, from his seclusion at Olney, 'looked out on the world in a different spirit. The game of politics had no interest for him; but he followed the course of political events with keen anxiety, at the expense of three shillings and threepence a quarter, for which sum he enjoyed the daily use of the 'Morning Chronicle.' The following passages from Cowper, written in 1782, are conceived in a loftier mood, and one more characteristic of the nation, than that which Walpole habitually exemplifies in his correspondence. They suggest the great reserve of strength which England then possessed in her silent country districts; they also illustrate the patriotism, determination, preference of deeds to words, and practical conception of 'an Englishman's business,' which carried the nation through the tremendous conflict.

'I recollect that in those happier days, when you and I could spend our evening in enumerating victories and acquisitions that seemed to follow each other in a continued series, there was some pleasure in hearing a politician. . . . When poor Bob White brought me the news of Boscawen's success off the coast of Portugal, how did I leap for joy! When Hawke demolished Confians I was still more transported. But nothing could express my rapture when Wolfe made the conquest of Quebec. I am not, therefore, I suppose, destitute of true patriotism; but the course of public events has of late afforded me no opportunity to exert it. I cannot rejoice, because I see no reason; and I will not murmur, because for that I can find no good one' (vol. i, p. 436).

'I am not quite such a superannuated simpleton as to suppose that mankind were wiser or much better when I was young than they are now. But I may venture to assert, without exposing myself to the charge of dotage, that the men whose integrity, courage, and wisdom broke the bands of tyranny, established our constitution upon its true basis, and gave a people, overwhelmed with the scorn of all countries, an opportunity to emerge into a state of the highest respect and estimation, make a better figure in history than any of the present day are likely to do when their pretty harangues are forgotten and nothing shall survive but the remembrance of the views and motives with which they made them' (ib. p. 437).

'The blow we have struck in the West Indies [the defeat of the Comte de Grasse by Rodney, April 12, 1782] will, I suppose, be decisive at least for the present year, and, so far as that part of our possessions is concerned, in the present conflict. But the news-writers and their correspondents disgust me and make me sick. One victory after such a long series of adverse occurrences has filled them with self-conceit and impertinent boasting; and, while Rodney is almost accounted a Methodist for ascribing his success to Providence, men who have renounced all dependence upon such a friend, without whose assistance nothing can be done, threaten to drive the French out of the sea, laugh at the Spaniards, sneer at the Dutch, and are to carry the world before them. Our enemies are apt to brag, and we deride them for it; but we can sing as loud as they can, in the same key, and no doubt, wherever our papers go, shall be derided in our turn. An Englishman's true glory should be to do his business well, and say little about it; but he disgraces himself when he puffs his prowess as if he had finished his task, when he has but just begun it' (vol. i, pp. 481, 482).

To discuss the rival claims of Cowper and Walpole to be considered the 'greatest of English letter-writers' is wasted labour. The two authors are so essentially different in character, in subject-matter, in style, that they cannot be compared: they can only be contrasted. The literary form of both is perfectly adapted to the subject-matter. Cowper's unstudied natural ease is in absolute harmony with the rural life of Olney; the brilliance and glitter of Walpole are equally in keeping with the world of London society. While Cowper is an acknowledged master of the English art of letter-writing, Walpole is the only rival to the great French school whom our literature possesses. If moral value forms an element in literary merit, Walpole is a feather-weight in the scales; but if the interest of the events described is allowed to weigh in the balance, Cowper kicks the beam. On these and similar questions men might dispute for ever. They can at least unite in gratitude to Mr Wright and Mrs Toynbee for their admirable editions of two of the greatest of English letter-writers.

ROWLAND E. PROTHERO,

Art. III.—PROFIT-SHARING AND COPARTNERSHIP.

1. *Co-operative Production*. Publications of the Labour Copartnership Association, 1901-3. Central Office, 15 Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C.
 2. *Twenty Years of Copartnership at Guise*. With introduction by Mr Thomas Burt, M.P. Translated from the French by Aneurin Williams. Labour Copartnership Association, 15 Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C.
 3. *South Metropolitan Gas Company: Our Copartnership System*. Report of Meeting at the Crystal Palace, August 1903. South Metropolitan Gas Company, 709 Old Kent Road, S.E.
 4. *Ireland in the New Century*. By the Rt Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett. London: John Murray, 1904.
 5. *Reports of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, Limited*, 1902-3. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker.
 6. *Report of the Moseley Industrial Commission*. Manchester: Co-operative Printing Society, 1903.
 7. *Reports of Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers*, 1901-3.
 8. *Bonus Tables for calculating Wages on the Bonus or Premium System*. By Henry A. Golding. London: Griffin, 1903.
- And other works.

THE clash of acrimonious discussion on the fiscal question will be very far from a sheer waste of energy if it serve to draw attention to defects in the existing economic system which are remediable and ought to be remedied. These defects exist alike in free trade and in protectionist countries, and therefore invite attention alike from tariff-reformers and free-fooders, or—to revert to the older and simpler nomenclature—from protectionists and free-traders. One of the most important of these defects is that existing economic arrangements hide from the great mass of the labouring classes the fact that their interests are served by whatever increases the productiveness of their labour. Every workman would agree that the ultimate source of his wages is the value of what he produces; and yet it is by no means clear to the workman that the more he produces the more he

gets. Self-interest is therefore not awakened, and fails to stimulate his energy and inventiveness. He seems to gain by spinning out a given piece of work over the greatest possible number of hours. The general spirit of trade-unionism is to limit output rather than to stimulate it; and the desire of trade-unionists is to restrict the supply of skilled labour rather than to increase it. Sir Alfred Moseley, in the introduction to his *Industrial Report*, quotes a leading trade-unionist as saying, 'Just as it is the object of the master to get as much work as he can for as little wages as possible, so it is the object of the workman to get as much wages for as little work as possible' (p. 11). Sir Alfred Moseley's opinion obviously is that the United States is outstripping England in the industrial race largely because the working men in America are sufficiently educated to see that they profit by the productiveness of their labour, and are not possessed by the idea that it is to their own interests to do as little as they can in return for their wages.

To recognise this is not necessarily to condemn trade-unionism. It is obvious that trade-unions have done much to raise the status of the worker and to protect his interests. But to say this is not to say the last word. The present organisation of industry fails to awaken in the average workman the desire to do his best; and he frequently believes that he and his class are actually benefited by his doing considerably less than his best. The loss to the working class and to the nation caused by this state of things is incalculable. Imagine, as Lord Grey has put it, the difference between the output of ten millions of workers who believe that they are fulfilling their duty to their fellow workmen by restricting their output, and that of the same number who believe it to be the interest of all concerned that their work should be as efficient as possible. A trade-union official, speaking at a recent co-operative meeting, estimated the difference in value to be at least thirty per cent. Besides this normal and constant loss to the national productive power, there are two other kinds of loss which also have to be reckoned with. There is, first, the deterioration of character which comes of slackness and want of industry, with its attendant drinking, loafing, gambling, and thriftlessness; this is a loss the magnitude of which cannot be

estimated by any arithmetic. Secondly, there is the huge national loss caused by strikes.* It is no uncommon thing for the loss to a single trade caused by a strike to run to hundreds of thousands; and Board of Trade returns on strikes point to their costing the nation, on the average, as much as half a million a year.

These are some of the results of industry being organised on a basis of war between capital and labour rather than on a basis of peace. In some respects things are growing worse rather than better, because the advantages of production on a large scale are year by year more and more pressing the small producer out of existence. The little tradesman, who combined in his own person the attributes of capitalist and labourer, is in many occupations becoming extinct; the small employer, who knows all his men personally, working with and among them, is less common than formerly. The old adage that ownership turns sand into gold is now too often inverted, ownership on a small scale usually turning gold to sand. Production on a large scale, therefore, holds the field, and is likely in the future to hold it even more completely than at present. The problem which co-operators have attempted to solve is how, while leaving production on a large scale in unquestioned predominance, to give the worker an obvious interest in the productiveness of his work, and to turn him from a hireling into a partner.

The joint-stock principle, with limited liability, and the development of banking are among the most important economic inventions of the last century. They have enabled every one who can save a few pounds to enter as a shareholder upon industrial enterprise. The drawbacks of the system are obvious enough. Still, making due allowance for frauds and over-speculation, no one can deny that the wealth of the world has been enormously increased by the massing of petty sums which separately could seldom have been used productively, and by the conversion of them into capital

* The master of a workhouse in the north of England told the present writer that, in his opinion, every big strike adds permanently to the great army of tramps and casuals. During a long strike men lose the habit of work; many of them take to the road, and habitual industry knows them no more.

which can be used collectively for the creation of wealth. Savings which formerly languished in old stockings or in a pot hidden in the thatch are now used to make railways, waterworks, docks, etc., and to promote every kind of productive industry. The effect of this Pactolus stream on production has been little short of miraculous; and the national wealth has increased by leaps and bounds. The benefit to the investing classes is no less marked. The middle class enjoy a standard of comfort which would have been beyond the dreams of avarice in ages not by any means remote. The economic difference between the past and the present cannot be attributed to any one cause; it is the effect of many causes acting together; but among these must always be placed the encouragement to saving offered by investments, and the consequent utilisation of capital which would otherwise have lain idle and unproductive.

Will it be possible for the twentieth century to do for the wage-earning man what the nineteenth century did for the middle classes—to encourage him to save by putting fairly safe and fairly remunerative industrial investment within his reach? Will it be possible, without abandoning the immense economic advantages of production on a large scale, to make the workmen something more than 'hands,' mere parts of the machinery in the big concern—to convert them into partners by giving them a direct pecuniary interest in the productiveness of their labour, and, at the same time, a reasonably sound investment for their savings? We propose to examine some practical answers which have been given to these questions.

The South Metropolitan Gasworks Co. furnishes our first example. The manager, Mr (now Sir) George Livesey, nearly thirty years ago obtained the consent of Parliament to a scheme for identifying the interests of the shareholders of his company with those of the consumers of gas. A certain standard normal price of gas per thousand feet was fixed, corresponding to a certain normal rate of interest; but, for every penny per thousand feet by which the price of gas could be reduced, the company were authorised to add another five shillings per 100*l.* to the dividends of their shareholders. The system worked

advantageously and identified the interests of consumers and shareholders. It is mentioned here to illustrate the bent of the manager's mind in desiring to bring about harmony where there was formerly antagonism. In 1887 and 1888 the company offered to its men the eight-hours' day and the three-shift system; but the offer was rejected. In 1889 the Gas Stokers' Union, then newly formed, demanded the eight-hours' day; and the directors, having been ready for it before the men were, immediately granted the request. The Union then appeared to think that whatever it asked for would be granted; and a long string of concessions, some reasonable and some unreasonable, was demanded.

Sir George Livesey had long considered it desirable to give the officers and men some permanent stake in the welfare of the company, and in October 1889 he obtained the consent of his board to a scheme of profit-sharing between employers and employed. The plan was explained to about a dozen of the leaders among the workmen. They approved; but the members of the Gas Stokers' Union said they must consult that organisation. The Union refused its consent to the adoption of the plan; but the workmen who were not members of the Union let it be known to the board that they did not see why they should be kept out of a good thing because others declined it. The result was that the directors gave every man in their employment the choice of accepting or rejecting on his own account the profit-sharing scheme. The stokers, who numbered about two thousand, refused the offer; the other employés, numbering about a thousand, accepted it. Acceptance carried with it the signing of an agreement to work for twelve months, with a proviso that any man might leave during that period with the approval of the engineer on giving one week's notice.*

This, no doubt, was the point in the arrangement which incurred the opposition of the Union. A signed agree-

* This approval was in practice never withheld; it was not infrequently applied for by, and granted to, men who had opportunities of more responsible and better paid posts in other works. The men themselves greatly valued the twelve months' agreement, as it secured their employment for this period.

ment to work for a year would take from the Union its most formidable weapon, the power to order an immediate strike. The officers of the Union were well within their rights in recommending their members to reject the profit-sharing scheme. It was for them to judge, to the best of their ability, which course would be most to the benefit of the workmen; but they went beyond this, and put themselves entirely in the wrong by making the outrageous demand upon the directors that they should dismiss from their employment the thousand workmen who had accepted the profit-sharing scheme. To dismiss men for accepting an offer which the directors themselves had made would have been to forfeit all independence on the part of the company. Nevertheless, because this demand was not complied with, the two thousand stokers gave a week's notice on the following day; and one of the most remarkable strikes on record immediately followed. It cost the company close upon 100,000*l.*, but they were victorious all along the line. It was one of life's little ironies that the scheme which had been intended to extinguish strikes and give identity of interest to employers and employed was the immediate cause of a most formidable strike.

↓ The profit-sharing scheme, initiated in so much tumult in 1889, was an extension to the workmen of the sliding-scale principle which had long been found to work well between shareholders and consumers. The sum of 2*s.* 8*d.* per thousand feet was taken as the standard price of gas; and, for every penny per thousand feet below that sum for which the gas could be sold, the officers and workmen were to be entitled to an annual bonus of 1 per cent., afterwards increased to 1½ per cent., on their wages. At the time the scheme was started the actual price of gas was 2*s.* 3*d.* per thousand feet, or 5*d.* below the standard; and this allowed a bonus of 5 per cent. on annual wages. Like Leclaire in Paris, the directors, in order to convince their workmen of the *bona fides* of their offer, allowed it to be retrospective for three years; and each man who had been three years in the company's employment and accepted the scheme was at once credited with a sum averaging 3 per cent. per annum on his wages during the preceding three years. This sum, which amounted in the aggregate to 6863*l.*, was termed the 'nest-egg,' and it

was not to be withdrawable for five years, until 1894.* Half of the annual bonus accruing to each workman after 1889 was withdrawable in cash as soon as it became due; and in the early years of the working of the scheme about half of the available sum was thus withdrawn year by year. Sir George Livesey, however, attaches great importance to the workman allowing his bonus to remain at interest in the company's hands. He seeks to remove the antagonism between capital and labour by converting the labourer into a capitalist. He urges that the man who withdraws his bonus as soon as it accrues gets little or no permanent good from it; and it is noteworthy that the proportion of the bonus withdrawn has rapidly diminished since the inauguration of the scheme. Sir George Livesey, speaking before hundreds of his work-people at the Crystal Palace in August 1903, said:—

'At first nearly half of the annual bonus was left in the company's hands, but now nearly the whole is saved. I find there is a certain number of men who want the money directly they can lay their hands on it, but they are becoming fewer every year. . . . There was 28,000*l.* credited to the bonus account this last July [1903], half of which had to be invested in stock and the other half was withdrawable. How much do you think was withdrawn? Only 7 per cent. of the withdrawable half, or 967*l.* out of 13,700*l.* Well, that is only 3½ per cent. of the total. Last year it was double that, and the year before considerably more. At Vauxhall and Old Greenwich only 1 per cent. was withdrawn. . . . This withdrawable amount, if it is allowed to remain with the company, may be of inestimable use at some time of emergency or unexpected misfortune. If, however, it is withdrawn every year, of course there will be nothing when it is

* A number of the workmen's 'pass-books' in account with the company were handed in by Sir George Livesey in the course of his evidence before the Labour Commission in 1892. One, which appears to have been taken at random, is given in detail.

	£	s.	d.
1880. 'Nest-egg,' being 3 per cent. per annum on the			
man's wages, counting three years back	7	0	4
1889-90. Interest at 4 per cent.	0	5	7
1890. Bonus	3	18	0
„ Savings voluntarily added	9	0	0
1891. Bonus	3	18	0
„ Interest at 4 per cent.	0	12	4

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most wanted. I am thankful to say the great majority of the South Metropolitan men—93 per cent.—have left this withdrawable money in the company's hands.'

The rule at first was that the men should be allowed to leave the withdrawable half of their bonus with the company at 4 per cent. interest. This was not philanthropy, but business, when the company's stocks stood at a figure which yielded about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As gas stocks rose in value between 1894 and 1899, their yield per cent. was reduced to something below 4 per cent., and it then became necessary to reduce the interest allowed on the workmen's deposits. When this was done the reasons for it were explained to the men, who admitted the justice of the change and unanimously agreed to it. Not a single man withdrew his money because the rate of interest had been reduced.

The good understanding between employers and employed, of which this gives such convincing proof, had been greatly strengthened by the formation of a profit-sharing committee, consisting of workmen elected by ballot by their fellows, and an equal number of members nominated by the directors. All matters which might give rise to dispute, growing out of the profit-sharing scheme, are referred to this committee. Its usefulness is by no means confined to the averting of disputes. The members of the committee, as one of them has expressed it, 'walk about' among their fellow-workers and explain the profit-sharing scheme to them, and show them the advantages obtained by leaving the bonus with the company. Several of the workmen speakers at the Crystal Palace meeting already referred to spoke appreciatively of the courtesy with which they were invariably treated by their officers, of the value to the men of the extra quarter of an hour allowed for breakfast, and other evidences of consideration and kindness. They evidently appreciated the good treatment they received and felt that it helped them to do their best. One man said:—

'When profit-sharing was first introduced our trade-unionist friends said it would not live . . . that it was not possible for capital and labour to work hand in hand and to get along together—they must be antagonistic. Events since then have proved the contrary. . . . Here we are all unionists. We are members of the Capital and Labour union, , , , The cheaper

the company can buy the coal, the cheaper we can get the carbonising done, the cheaper we can produce the gas, the better for all concerned. The consumer gets his gas cheaper, the shareholder has a larger dividend, and we—last, but not least—have a better bonus.'

The actual pecuniary advantage of the scheme to the workmen can be readily proved by a few figures. The 6863*l.* with which the men were credited in 1889 had grown in 1903 to a grand total of 224,764*l.* The larger part of this was held in the company's stock; the rest was the accumulation of the yearly accruing bonus on deposit and bearing interest. Between two and three thousand of the company's employes owned stock of more than 5*l.* and under 50*l.* in value; 321 held between 50*l.* and 100*l.*; 151 held between 100*l.* and 200*l.*; 40 held between 200*l.* and 300*l.*; 13 between 300*l.* and 400*l.*; 10 between 400*l.* and 500*l.*; and several held over 500*l.* All these were workmen only, the holdings of the officers and overseers not being included. Profit-sharing has thus developed into a complete system of copartnership. The whole scheme has worked admirably. As Sir George Livesey said before the Labour Commission:—

'It gave, in place of hostility and antagonism, peace and goodwill; in the place of doubt and mistrust, confidence; and in the place of sullen, discontented workmen, a body of cheerful, willing, capable workers with whom it was a pleasure to be associated.'

The latest development of copartnership at the South Metropolitan Gasworks has been the appointment of workmen as directors. This began in 1899. The workmen directors are elected by the workmen shareholders, and retire annually, but are eligible for re-election. The same men have been repeatedly re-elected, and have thoroughly earned the confidence of their fellow-workmen and of their fellow-directors. The fears which some of the board entertained with regard to this new departure have not been confirmed by experience. The knowledge gained as members of the governing body has never been betrayed or misused in any way; and it is obvious that to occupy such a position must have a practical educational effect of considerable importance. The double object of the copartnership scheme has never been

lost sight of—to give the men an interest in the company's prosperity, and also to give them the opportunity of becoming the owners of property.

The example of the South Metropolitan Gasworks Company has been followed, in all important respects, by the Crystal Palace District Gas Company; and this smaller and less wealthy body, which started co-partnership in 1894, had in nine years placed 20,000*l.* worth of its stock in the hands of its employes. The bonus in this company amounted in 1903 to 2000*l.*, one half of which was immediately withdrawable; but only 5*l.* 19*s.* was actually withdrawn, and this by two men who had been impoverished by illness, so that the withdrawal of the cash to their credit was entirely justified by the circumstances.

It will be noted that the whole cost to the South Metropolitan Gas Company of the profit-sharing or co-partnership scheme was the sum of 6863*l.*, credited to the men in 1889 as the 'nest-egg.' This was not very greatly in excess of one week's wages bill at that period; and a very insignificant item of expenditure in comparison with the cost of a strike. The annual bonus costs the company nothing, for it represents what has been saved by the additional efficiency of the labour employed.

The French copartnership scheme adopted at Guise (Aisne) resembles that adopted by the South Metropolitan Gasworks in little except its success. The fundamental aim is, indeed, in both cases the same—to make the workman a capitalist, to engage his intelligence and interest in making his labour as productive as possible; but the methods employed in attaining this end differ widely. In one respect, however, they have an affinity with one another. At the head of each was a man who combined trained business capacity of a high order with faith in the co-operative principle and enthusiasm enough to overcome difficulties attendant on its adoption. Wherever co-operation and copartnership have succeeded, experience shows that there must be 'a man at the wheel' who has something of the spirit of a missionary as well as of a pioneer, added to business capacity and training. M. Jean Baptiste André Godin, the founder of the great co-operative ironworks at Guise, had these qualifications

to a very remarkable degree. He was born in 1817 at Esquehéries in the department of Aisne in north-eastern France, the son of a village blacksmith. He began work at eleven years old at his father's forge, when he was so diminutive that he had to stand on a stool to reach the vice. When he was seventeen he started in company with a cousin, who was a smith like himself, to make the tour of France, working as they went. They learnt other things beyond their craft. The ideas of St Simon were in the air; and the problem how to improve the condition of the workmen was constantly before young Godin's mind. Later in life, writing of this period of his existence, he said:—

'For me, day by day, returned the hard labour which kept me in the workshop from five in the morning till eight at night. I saw, in all its nakedness, the destitution of the workman and his needs; and it was in the dejection this brought upon me that, in spite of my small confidence in my own ability, I said to myself, "If ever I lift myself above the condition of the workman, I will seek means to render his life happier and to lift labour from its degradation."'

In three years he returned home, a young man of twenty. The making of stoves was a part of his father's business which young Godin determined to develop. After another three years he set up on his own account, in no spirit of rivalry with his father, but in order not to involve his parents in his own possible disasters. The father showed his good will by giving him 4000 francs; and on this he married and began business. He was inventive but, unlike many inventors, practical and energetic. Success soon attended him. In 1840 he was employing thirty men, and removed to Guise, which was favourably situated, at the junction of two branches of the river Oise, for water carriage of goods and materials. He remained a constant student of communistic theories, and formed the opinion that they had failed in practice and were barren and unfruitful because they were based on hatred. Hatred, even hatred of what is evil, is not enough, he argued; nothing good grows out of hatred; it is love of good which creates and produces more good. In 1842 he read Fourier's book, 'Theory of Universal Unity,' and found there what he had been looking for all his life, a means of reconciling labour,

capital, and talent by copartnership or co-operation. The revolutionary year of 1848 followed; and he had hard work to avoid utter ruin. After losing a considerable sum in a communistic experiment in the United States, Godin determined, with the practical instinct which seldom failed him, that any further experiments should be made among his own workpeople, in his own works, under his own eye.

Having become a wealthy and prosperous man, he proceeded, from 1856 onwards, to build up one of the most complex and successful co-operative establishments in existence. His plan included not only the participation by the workmen in the profits of the business, but provided for all their wants and wishes from the cradle to the grave. He erected large and commodious buildings, such as we should call workmen's dwellings, known at Guise as *familistères*. No workman was compelled to live in these; and many men lived in the towns or in the surrounding villages; but the rooms in the *familistères* offered so many advantages that they were much sought after. The dwellings are let at a low rent, about 8s. a month for two rooms, they have ample air-space within, and are surrounded without by a charming park, kitchen and flower gardens, and recreation fields. They form, in fact, an early type of the 'Garden City.' The co-operative association at Guise not only provides dwellings for its members but excellent schools, a theatre, a library, a savings bank, a swimming bath, bath and wash-houses, shops for all kinds of necessities, and a covered court for recreation, which is used on occasions as a ballroom.

The waste of infant life by improper feeding and other kinds of neglect induced M. Godin to institute a nursery and school for babies where infants are taken care of from the time they are a fortnight old. The mothers resume possession of their babies at night, and covered passages connect the nursery with the *familistères*. As M. Godin's business was an iron-foundry, it naturally afforded little or no employment for women. This defect was remedied by setting up a stocking factory; additional employment for women is also found in the shops and other institutions connected with the *familistères*. Women are eligible to become members of the committee of management, and take part in its proceedings on the same footing as men.

The main features of M. Godin's copartnership scheme rest on the association of labour, capital, and talent, to each of which a definite share in the profits of the industry is allotted. The first charges upon gross profits are to cover (1) depreciation of buildings, (2) votes to various mutual insurance funds, (3) expenses of education, (4) interest on workmen's shares. What remains is treated as net profits and is divided into four parts; one fourth is allotted to the brain-workers and three fourths are divided between labour and capital. Capital is considered to have earned 'wages,' and the wages of capital are reckoned at 5 per cent. Of the one fourth of the net profits allotted to ability, by no means the whole went to the managing director; the committee of management received, at Godin's own desire, a share four times larger than his own; and handsome sums were also paid to any one who brought useful inventions before the board. In the year 1880 a deed was drawn up to provide for the gradual transference by sale of the whole business (then valued at 180,000*l.*) to the associated workmen.

It was characteristic of Godin's practical common-sense that he knew he would only be courting failure if he handed over the control of a large and complicated business, exposed to severe competition, to a committee of workmen who had never received any training in commerce. The rules of the society were accordingly carefully framed to guard against this. The workmen were divided into four classes whose powers range from zero (representing men who come and go, the floating population of the workshop) to first-class members, who are alone entitled to attend the general meeting and to elect three members of the committee of management.

M. Godin died in January 1888, and left to the 'Society of the Familistère' all that part of his property which the French law gave him power to dispose of. As he had thought out everything, down to the smallest details, to promote the success of his beloved scheme, so his survivors found that he had not left them without his assistance in the choice of his epitaph. Turning over his papers, his executors found the following:—

'Come to this tomb when you have need to be reminded that I founded the "Familistère" for brotherly association and partnership. Remain united by the love of humanity. Pardon

the wrongs which others do to you. Hatred is the fruit of evil hearts; let it not enter among you. Let the remembrance of me be for you a bond of brotherly unity. Nothing is good or meritorious without the love of humanity. Prosperity will accompany you in proportion as concord shall reign among you. Be just towards all, and you will serve as an example.

These words are now engraved upon his monument, which stands in the pleasure-gardens of the *Famillistère*. It might be thought that a creation so intensely personal as that of M. Godin's would not long survive its founder. But M. Godin built on strong foundations; and the *Famillistère* of Guise continues its originator's best monument.

M. Godin may have worn his heart upon his sleeve a little more than is the fashion on this side of the English Channel; but in a social and economic mission such as his, a heart, and a large one too, is a necessary part of the pioneer's outfit; and, so long as he has it, he may follow his own taste as to the way in which it is worn. Many readers will feel that he was disposed to govern too much, to leave too little play to individualism; to be too completely the benevolent despot. His schemes are certainly open to this criticism. Still the proof of the sterling sagacity of his industrial innovations is that his *Famillistère* continues to grow and flourish, though many years have elapsed since the death of its originator; and Guise still remains a living proof of what can be done to raise the status of the working classes, and to foster a wholesome relationship between capital and labour.

The recent growth of co-operation in Ireland bears no resemblance to the examples we have given in England and France. The economic condition of Ireland, if the industrial corner of Ulster is excluded, differs altogether from the economic condition of England and France. Excluding Ulster, with its flourishing factories and shipyards, and the places where the manufacture of porter and whisky are carried on, Ireland is wholly agricultural; and the holdings are extremely small. Two hundred thousand Irish holdings, representing the homes of nearly a million persons, range from one to fifteen acres only in extent. These are often on the poorest land. It has been said that in Ireland three fifths of the

farms are on one fourth of the land. The tenants or owners of these small holdings are almost always without capital, and very often without skill, knowledge, or industry. Moreover, they are diligently instructed by most of their pastors and masters that all the ills from which they suffer are due not to themselves but others.

'How small of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure,'

is the very last sentiment which would ever occur to an average Irishman. He thinks that kings and laws, governments and castles, have caused every ill from which he suffers, and therefore ought to be called upon immediately to cure them.

That this is an error, and that the regeneration of Ireland rests upon the efforts of the people themselves, is the text over and over again reiterated, with every variety of phrase and epigram, in Sir Horace Plunkett's interesting book, 'Ireland in the New Century.' As the utterance of an Irishman speaking to Irishmen, the book marks an epoch. The author tells his countrymen that the condition of Ireland is a disgrace to Irishmen, and is due mainly to their own failure to grasp their opportunities, and to defects in the national character—lack of moral courage, of initiative, independence, and self-reliance. The publication of such a book goes some way towards refuting the charge it makes. It must have required no little moral courage for an Irishman living in Ireland to pen it; and that the author is a thorough Irishman every page of the book proves. No one but an Irishman could have made a book on such a subject not only interesting but amusing. As specimens of the wit with which Sir Horace Plunkett enlivens his pages we may quote the following: 'Dying in the last ditch would often mean in practice perching on the first fence.' 'The assumption that the Irish are singularly good politicians seems to stand seriously in the way of their becoming so.' Speaking of landlords and tenants he says, 'Mr Gladstone found the land system intolerable to one party; he made it intolerable to the other.' Referring to the constant drain from Ireland of its most vigorous young men and women by emigration, he laments, 'We cannot fit people to stay without fitting them to go.'

When he turns to the noble army of critics he remarks, 'It is a peculiarity of destructive criticism that, unlike charity, it generally begins and ends abroad'; and he neatly expresses the despair we have all felt on being asked to join the endless succession of associations, societies, and 'movements where nothing but resolutions will be moved.'

Sparkling and witty as its pages are, 'Ireland in the New Century' never loses sight of its very serious aim and object—the regeneration of Ireland from within, the rousing in Irishmen of a sense of their own responsibility for the condition of Ireland. In this connexion the author quotes one of the queries of Bishop Berkeley: 'Whether it would not be more reasonable to mend our state than to complain of it; and how far this may be in our own power?' The seed sown by Sir Horace Plunkett has borne fruit in a somewhat unexpected quarter. The whole meaning of the brilliant political comedy, 'John Bull's other Island,' is the same as that of 'Ireland in the New Century,' namely, that Irishmen are responsible for the woes of Ireland; but, unlike Sir Horace Plunkett, Mr G. B. Shaw offers no remedy for the social and political *malaise* he so mercilessly exposes.

The industrial problem in England and France is how to awaken in workmen an interest in their work and a desire to make it productive; and the solution offered by Sir George Livesey, M. Godin, and other co-operative pioneers, is to make labourers into capitalists by converting them into partners in the business for which they work. The Irish problem is different; it is how to turn the acute Irish intellect into the channel of economic energy, how to persuade her people to seek their material well-being through making the most of the natural resources of their country, and last, but not least, how to utilise, for the development of production, that associative instinct which is so noticeable in Irishmen. In Ireland, as in England and France, capital and labour have to be brought together, but in Ireland it will be through providing for the small peasant tenant or owner the means of obtaining the use of capital for reproductive purposes. In politics we are only too familiar with the associative instincts of Irishmen. In constituencies hundreds or thousands vote as one man, according to

orders, for a candidate they may never have seen. In the United States the associative instinct of Irishmen has produced Tammany Hall and other notorious specimens of political tyranny and corruption. It was a stroke of genius to seize upon this associative instinct and turn it in a direction where it can only do good. Sir Horace Plunkett thus describes his propaganda :—

‘The practical form which our work took was the launching upon Irish life of a movement of organised self-help, and the subsequent grafting upon this movement of a system of State aid to the agriculture and industries of the country. . . . The problem of mind and character with which we had to deal in Ireland presented this central and somewhat discouraging fact. In practical life the Irish had failed where the English had succeeded; and this was attributed to the lack of certain English qualities which have been undoubtedly essential to success in commerce and industry from the days of the industrial revolution until a comparatively recent date. It was the individualism of the English economic system during this period which made these qualities indispensable.

‘The lack of these qualities in Irishmen of to-day may be admitted, and the cause of the deficiency has been adequately explained. But those who regard the Irish situation as industrially hopeless probably ignore the fact that there are other qualities, of great and growing importance under modern economic conditions, which can be developed in Irishmen and may form the basis of an industrial system. I refer to the range of qualities which come into play rather in association than in the individual, and to which the term “associative” is applied. So that, although much disparaging criticism of Irish character is based upon the survival in the Celt of the tribal instincts, it is gratifying to be able to show that, even from the practical English point of view, our preference for thinking and working in groups may not be altogether a *damnosa hereditas*.

‘If, owing to our deficiency in the individualistic qualities of the English, we cannot at this stage hope to produce many types of the “economic man” of the economists, we think we see our way to provide, as a substitute, the economic association. If the association succeeds, and, by virtue of its financial success, becomes permanent, a great change will, in our opinion, be produced on the character of its members. The reflex action upon the individual mind of the habit of doing, in association with others, things which were formerly left

undone or badly done, may be relied upon to have a tonic effect upon the character of the individual. This is, I suppose, the secret of discipline, which, though apparently eliminating volition, seems in weak characters to strengthen the will' (pp. 165-7).

The translation of these general considerations into practical action took the form of inducing the small dairy-farmers of the south and west of Ireland to combine for the production of butter in large quantities and of uniform good quality. Sir Horace Plunkett began this work in 1889, aided by a small band of Irishmen, chief among whom was Lord Monteleagle. Their first task was to prove, by causing it to be done, that Irishmen of opposite political parties could work together for the common good of their country. Their early struggles showed 'that no project which was theoretically sound need be rejected because everybody said it was impracticable. The work of the morrow largely consists of the impossible of to-day.'

The Irish creameries organised by Sir Horace Plunkett and his associates have been frequently described, but probably few in this country realise what very considerable proportions the business they represent has attained, or the importance of other phases of co-operative agriculture which have grown out of the success of the creameries, such as the establishment of 'Raiffeisen' banks, and of agricultural societies for supplying small farmers with good seeds, food-stuffs, manures, implements, etc., at the lowest possible prices, and for improving the breed of cattle, horses, and poultry. The nucleus of the whole movement was the creamery. Instead of each little farmer making his own little quantity of butter in his own way (frequently a very bad way) and being left to find his own market, the farmers in a given area are induced to combine, each sending all the milk he has for sale once or twice daily to a central creamery. The creamery is provided with separators and the best modern dairy appliances. Each farmer's supply of milk is at once measured, tested, and paid for in proportion to the quantity of cream it contains. The butter-milk and skim-milk are returned. The cream thus collected is converted into butter on the most approved methods; and, a regular supply of uniformly good quality being thus

obtained, access to the best markets is ensured. The voice of criticism is naturally loud and frequent, especially from those who have done nothing to improve the industrial position of their country; but nothing more serious against the system has been alleged than that the Irish farmer appreciates its pecuniary advantages only too well and sends milk to the creamery which he ought to keep for his own children and calves. This correlative disadvantage can be met in various ways. The parental instinct may in the long run be relied upon to prevent the absorption of milk by the creamery being carried to a point which is injurious to the children. In England farmers who use the separator are beginning to reinforce the poor quality of the separated milk which is left for the calves by an addition of cod-liver oil.

Denmark is always held up as an example of what can be done by co-operation to retrieve the fortunes of an agricultural community. A tiny country, with less than 2,500,000 inhabitants, she has, by means of co-operative production, increased her exports of butter to Great Britain from the value of 767,000*l.* in 1870 to 9,302,000*l.* in 1902; her export to us in the same year of meat, chiefly bacon, was worth 4,238,000*l.*, and that of eggs 1,366,000*l.* Denmark achieved this extraordinary result, passing from penury to plenty, without any special advantages of climate or situation, but through the initiative and industry of her people and their adoption of co-operative methods. Cannot Ireland do what Denmark has done? This was the question which Sir Horace Plunkett and his band of helpers continually pressed upon the Irish farmer. Their success may be judged by the fact that, beginning in 1889 with one creamery having fifty associated members, at the end of fourteen years' work they had established 360 creameries with a membership of more than 80,000. The sales of butter from the Irish co-operative creameries in 1903 reached the total value of 1,350,000*l.*

In Ireland almost every question is considered from a party point of view; and, as it was a fundamental principle of the co-operators to dissociate themselves entirely from party, they had special difficulties to contend with from extremists on both sides. Vehement Unionists in Dublin succeeded in driving Sir Horace

Plunkett from his seat in Parliament because he consented to work with Nationalists for the development of the natural resources of Ireland. Vehement Nationalists, on the other hand, described him as 'a monster in human form,' and adjured him 'to cease his hellish work.' In one place where he was seeking to establish a creamery, and had explained to a meeting that it had no connexion whatever with politics, a local orator arose and said that such a programme would never suit Rathkeale. 'Rathkeale,' he asserted, 'is a Nationalist town—Nationalist to the backbone; and every pound of butter made in this creamery must be made on Nationalist principles or it shan't be made at all.' The loss of his seat by the leader of the co-operative movement may perhaps have been helpful rather than the reverse to the movement he was initiating. It certainly served to illustrate one of his main principles—that his countrymen should seek the welfare of their country by their own efforts outside the sphere of politics and parties.

Out of the development of the creameries grew the establishment of the Raiffeisen credit banks and the federations or co-operative agency societies. The Raiffeisen banks, which have long worked so well in Italy, Germany, and other countries where small farming prevails, have made a very promising start in Ireland, where they already number nearly two hundred. Their object, as is well known, is to give the power of borrowing small sums for a specific productive purpose to the small farmer. A rich man can borrow on easy terms because he can give security for the repayment of the loan. A poor man cannot borrow, except on usurious interest, even for the most reproductive purpose, because he is not in a position to give security. But what he cannot give as an individual he can give as a member of a society. The Raiffeisen banks perform, as Sir Horace Plunkett points out, the apparent miracle of giving solvency to a community composed almost entirely of insolvent individuals. The paradox is explained by the fact that the members of an association forming a Raiffeisen bank are jointly and severally responsible for the debts incurred by every one of them. It may be thought that this is a dangerous principle, and that its dangers would not be minimised by the Irish temperament. In practice, how-

ever, it has been found that the obvious risks of the Raiffeisen system carry their own safeguard with them. If you are a member of a society which is jointly and severally responsible for the debts of its members, you are likely to be careful as to the character of those admitted to membership. Carefully thought-out rules have been framed with the object of protecting the society against loss. The member who desires to borrow has to satisfy the committee that he requires the loan for a definite productive purpose, and he has to produce two sureties, who guarantee to the committee that the loan shall be applied to the object specified. If this is to purchase anything insurable, it must be insured. The committee borrows at 4 or 5 per cent. and lends at 5 or 6; and the difference covers the cost of administration.

The Raiffeisen principle is plainly applicable only to a group of persons of approximately equal economic position. Unlimited liability would act injuriously if one member were so far above all the rest that, in the event of loss, the weight would practically fall on him alone. This condition is fulfilled over a large part of Ireland; and, as a matter of fact, since the establishment of these banks not one single shilling of loss has been incurred. One of the rules provides for the expulsion of a member who does not apply the money borrowed to the agreed productive purpose; but in no single instance has there been any necessity to put this rule in force. The borrower usually makes a very large profit out of these loans, so much so that they have received the name of 'the lucky money.' One collateral result of the influence of these banks deserves mention. The debt-laden Irish peasant farmer was formerly very anxious to conceal his indebtedness, but he is quite proud of being a borrower from the new banks, as the fact is a testimonial to honesty and industry.

Federations or co-operative agency societies, of which there are now considerably more than one hundred, are constantly being formed, the members of these federations being not individuals but societies. The federations aid the societies in the purchase and sale of all kinds of agricultural products and requirements, and thus enable the farmer to buy and sell to the best advantage. The federations have turned their attention to the improve-

ment of breeds, to the question of mutual assurance, to the opening of markets, to the important subject of packing. A Danish expert has been brought over to give the farmers instruction upon the grading, selecting, and packing of eggs for export. The federation obtains for its associated societies standard seeds, manures, feeding stuffs, coal, agricultural implements, and machinery. The great social and political importance of the co-operative movement in Irish agriculture is rendered all the more evident by the Land Act of 1903. This Act, which is bringing into existence a large class of peasant proprietors, would be destined to add yet one more to the long list of Irish legislative failures and disappointments unless it had been preceded and accompanied by a movement which arouses in the Irish peasant a sense of his own responsibility for his condition, and stimulates him to strive for economic independence by economic, not political, means. No mere alteration in land tenure can regenerate Ireland. The gift of the land for nothing would, in itself, be worthless if the temper and attitude of the Irish farmer should remain in the new century what it was in the greater part of the old. To awaken self-reliance, to strengthen character, to call out the qualities of enterprise and steady industry, are the aims of Sir Horace Plunkett's movement for co-operative agriculture. It has already achieved a considerable measure of success; and that still greater success awaits it in the future must be the hope of all who have ever tried to understand the Irish problem.

No one can have been much in Ireland or associated freely with Irishmen without noticing in their attitude of mind an expectation that they will be scorned and treated as inferiors by their English compatriots. They refer to themselves half in joke, but it is a joke with a sting in it, as 'mere Irish'; they admit only too readily that, with all their characteristic national gifts, they are the 'lame duck' in the imperial brood. They do not expect that other nations should admire or wish to learn from them. They seem lacking in what Mr George Meredith has called 'the vital prop of human pride.' A great deal of this feeling is wholly uncalled for; and the Englishman's supposed self-complacency in comparing himself with the Irishman is largely a figment of the

Irish imagination. But it is all to the good of the new movement in Irish agriculture that other countries, including the supercilious, or apparently supercilious, England, have manifested a desire to learn from Ireland. Enquirers have come from Germany, France, Canada, the United States, India, South Africa, Cyprus, and the West Indies, desirous of learning all they can of the new Irish method of dealing with the problems of rural life; and, last but not least, five county councils from the English side of the Channel have sent over deputations of farmers to study the progress of co-operative agriculture in Ireland and to consider how far similar methods may be applicable in England. The tables will be turned indeed if the example of Ireland is needed to prove to England that the road to economic well-being is to be found in adaptability to altered industrial conditions, in developing national resources, in cultivating self-reliance and moral courage, and not in political wire-pulling to secure a tariff which will shield the producer from obnoxious competition.

Since the birth of the movement of co-operative agriculture in Ireland there have been signs of a new birth in other matters outside the field of economics and industry. Landlords and tenants, Unionists and Nationalists, have met each other for the first time on a footing of friendly equality, intent on the pursuit of a common object. The Irish, even the Irish politician, may yet learn with Godin that hatred is a barren force, that it is love of good which creates and produces more good. To turn from the barren gospel of hatred to the fruitful gospel of love of good would in itself create a new Ireland in the new century.

The foregoing examples of the application of the principles of co-operation have been quoted with the full knowledge that they are only specimens out of a vast cloud of witnesses. They have been selected chiefly because, differing as they do so widely from each other, they illustrate the adaptability of co-operation to different industrial circumstances. Co-operation may not be applicable to every employment, but probably it is capable of being far more generally adopted than is as yet the case. The Hebden Bridge Fustian-cutting Association has had

between thirty and forty years of successful co-operative experience. Leclaire's great success in introducing the profit-sharing principle into his business as a house-painter is well known to every co-operator; and we hear of the principle of copartnership being introduced into the Carnegie Steel-works in the United States. The chief danger in the way of co-operation is that practical experiments in it may be initiated by enthusiasts without the knowledge of business which is necessary to commercial success. Enthusiasm must be mated with experience and business capacity. The chief need for the development of co-operation is men who possess the union of these qualities. It is not a little interesting to those who approach the problems of capital and labour from the outside to find a man of business experience like Sir Alfred Moseley saying:—

'Of course the true solution is profit-sharing in some shape or form, and it is towards this goal that both masters and men should turn their eyes. . . . Capital and Labour are partners, and they must work as such.'

One main difficulty in the way of putting into general operation such schemes as those which have been so successful at the South Metropolitan Gasworks and at Guise is that they require, especially in their initial stages, the control and guidance of exceptional men. Less perfectly devised schemes may have a greater chance of general adoption if they preserve more closely the existing organisation of the workshop, and require for their successful adoption no extraordinary qualities on the part of either employers or employed. It may be fairly claimed that such a plan of overcoming the antagonism of interest between labour and capital, and of rewarding labour in proportion to its degree of efficiency, has been found in what is known as the 'premium' system of paying wages. This system, which originated in the United States about 1887, has stood the test of practical experience, without the aid of exceptional circumstances, in a large number of engineering shops in various parts of England, Scotland, and the United States.

The premium system may be briefly described as follows. For a definite piece of work there is a definite time-allowance given to the workman, say 100 hours, at

8*d.* an hour, or 800*d.* = 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* If he saves any time on the number of hours allowed, a percentage, which varies in different cases, is added to his rate of wages per hour. Suppose that, in the example just given, instead of spending 100 hours at the job, the man finishes it in 75 hours. He has thus saved 25 per cent. of the time allowed. If it has been settled that the percentage of increase in wages shall equal the percentage of time saved, 25 per cent. is added to his rate of wages per hour; and he gets 10*d.* an hour instead of 8*d.* Both capital and labour gain. The workman gets 10*d.* an hour instead of 8*d.*, and the employer gets the particular piece of work done for 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* instead of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In another form of the system, the workman receives a bonus in addition to his ordinary wages equal in value to half the time saved. If, on the other hand, the job takes more than the 100 hours allowed, the workman still gets his 8*d.* per hour; so that he cannot receive less than his usual wages, as may happen in the case of piece-work. The result of the premium system is, generally speaking, a larger output in proportion to time, rent, rates and taxes, etc., and consequently a larger profit, or the possibility of selling more cheaply and evading competition.

But the benefits arising from the system are not exhausted by what has been said above. The workman sees that he benefits immediately and directly by doing his work well and quickly, and he puts new life and vigour into his task; he also sees that he will gain if he can suggest and introduce improvements in tools and in methods of manufacture. He becomes really interested in making his work as efficient as possible. In one engineering firm in which the premium system has been adopted, the employers organised a monthly meeting of foremen and of all heads of departments to discuss shop problems and the manner in which a proposed settlement of them would affect the different departments. It was at first imagined that this monthly meeting would mean a monthly wrangle, and the club was nicknamed the Friction Club; but it has been discovered in practice that the club has secured a proper discussion on suggested improvements and alterations in methods of work, and has formed a most helpful factor in the establishment. One of its results has been the establishment of a works

library containing technical books, magazines, and papers. This enables the heads of departments to keep themselves informed of what is being done or contemplated by others in a similar line of business.

In this firm the directors have allotted a sum of 4*l.* a month to be distributed in the form of prizes to workmen who bring forward suggestions calculated to abridge labour or add to efficiency in any way. The award is left in the hands of the Friction Club. The 4*l.* may be awarded in one sum or in any number of smaller sums, according to the judgment of the club. Any sum not awarded is carried to next month's prize-fund. The discussion on these suggested improvements is most educative. In the first five months during which the scheme has been in operation the suggestions made by workmen have numbered three, eleven, eight, eighteen, and twenty respectively. The adoption of many useful devices has resulted. The system makes a continuous appeal to the intelligence and interest of foremen and workmen alike; it keeps the workshops alive, and banishes lethargy and carelessness. Another valuable collateral result of the system is that it brings heads of departments and foremen into personal relationship with the most intelligent and capable of the workmen; so that, when promotion has to be made, they know who their best men are.

It will at once be obvious that the premium system requires as an indispensable accompaniment a careful method of inspection. The inducement to save time would otherwise lead to scamping. But in all the firms which have adopted the system it has been clearly explained that no premium will be paid until the finished work has been inspected and passed as satisfactory. The time allowed for each particular job is arrived at as the result of experience; it is important that this should not be reduced unless there is a radical change in the method of production; and an engagement is entered into to this effect.

Papers on the premium system have been read, both in London and Manchester, before the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. These papers describe in detail the various methods of applying it, and also dwell fully on the preliminary arrangements necessary to ensure its success. A large number of the leading engineering firms in Great

Britain and in the United States have adopted it; and, early in 1904, it was introduced into the engineering shops of his Majesty's dockyards. All who have had practical experience of its working are satisfied as to the excellence of its results. The workmen value it for the extra wages it brings them; the employers value it because it makes their machinery more efficient and reduces cost. Both classes value it because it improves the life and spirit of the workshop and introduces improved human relations between capitalist and workmen. The Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Unions, however, at their meeting in May 1904, expressed doubts upon its desirability, and appointed a sub-committee to 'go more fully into the matter.' The report of this sub-committee, published in the autumn of 1904, condemns the plan. It 'recommends the societies represented on the Federation to do all in their power to prevent their members working under *any* premium bonus system.' It is the old story of the new trade-unionism, which, like the Gas Workers' Union in its fight with Sir George Livesey in 1889, objects to any system which makes a workman really keen to render his work as efficient as possible. Up to the present, however, no harm seems to have been done. The men like the premium system, which has increased their wages from 10 to 50 per cent., and are not disposed to give it up. Moreover, if the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Unions can see nothing whatever to recommend the premium system, an older and more experienced union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, takes a different view. It has not joined the Federation, but has indicated its sanction and approval of the premium system which the Federation denounces. It may therefore be hoped that wiser counsels will prevail, and that there will be no repetition of the unfortunate conflict of 1889.

Art IV.—THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. *The Cambridge Modern History*. Planned by the late Lord Acton; edited by A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes. Vol. VII. (The United States.) Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
 2. *The American Revolution: Part II*. By the Rt Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1903.
 3. *A History of the American People*. By Dr Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University. Five vols. New York and London: Harper, 1902.
 4. *The True History of the American Revolution*. By Sydney G. Fisher. Philadelphia and London: Lippincott, 1902.
 5. *Essays Historical and Literary*. By John Fiske. Two vols. New York and London: Macmillan, 1902.
 6. *The Loyalists in the American Revolution*. By Claude H. Van Tyne. New York and London: Macmillan, 1902.
 7. *Marins et Soldats français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance*. Par le Vicomte de Noailles. Paris: Perrin, 1903.
 8. *The Foundations of American Foreign Policy*. By Albert Bushnell Hart. New York and London: Macmillan, 1901.
 9. *American Diplomatic Questions*. By John B. Henderson. New York and London: Macmillan, 1901.
 10. *The True History of the Civil War*. By Guy Carleton Lee. Philadelphia and London: Lippincott, 1903.
 11. *The Supreme Court of the United States*. By H. L. Carson. New York; Philadelphia, 1891.
 12. *The Literature of American History: a Bibliographical Guide*. Edited for the American Library Association by J. N. Larned. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1902.
- And other works.

THE rapidity with which the literature of American history has accumulated within a few years is remarkable; and more remarkable still is the change which has come over its tone. The Declaration of Independence

may still be read with acceptance and with applause, but its perfervid eloquence no longer arouses the enthusiasm which once marked every response to its invocation. A new school of writers has arisen whose labours display less of passion and more of thought than those of their predecessors, in whose ears the stormy sounds of revolution still lingered as they wrote.

Some time ago (July 1899) we presented to our readers an account of the state of society and politics in the American colonies in the eighteenth century. It was an attempt to make a fair and candid reply to those who, for a long time unchallenged, had been reviving in this country the old views of the extreme Whigs, whose encouragement gave substantial aid to the rebellious colonies, and whose political traditions were in danger of passing without protest into history. It was deemed all the more just to make that reply, since, on the other side of the ocean, American historians were casting aside many, if not most, of the theories which were being revived in what was once the mother-country. In the discharge of this task it was necessary to attack some popular traditions and to assail, with a due regard to the dignity of letters, some famous names. There was occasion to expose the alleged virtues of the austere Franklin and the Wordsworthian simplicity of Adams; to show how the patriots, in their private journals and letters, made accusations against each other of weaknesses which were only just short of crimes; to point out how insincere were the declarations that were made against any desire for independence; to exhibit the purely financial reasons which led some, and the personal resentments which impelled others, to precipitate themselves into rebellion; to throw light upon the social conditions then prevailing among a people who were held up to our admiration by British writers as exhibiting virtues superior to those of the people of the British isles; and, in general, to refute, once for all we might hope, the pet theory of partial historians, that the Americans would never have rebelled had they not been forced into rebellion by an obstinate King and an impracticable Parliament. Those who read the paper may recall the fact that most of the material used on that occasion was drawn from American sources.

The materials for the history of America have, in our day, grown beyond the compass of any man's power to assimilate. The 'Literature of American History,' edited by Professor Larned for the American Library Association, is a work of great industry and utility. More than forty experts were engaged in its preparation, and most if not all of them devoted their services gratuitously to this national undertaking. The original suggestion came from Mr George Hes, who is, we believe, a Canadian, or was long connected with business in the Dominion. His ideas were adopted with practical enthusiasm; and we have now in one volume, with a supplement, a complete bibliography of American history. It includes a full and detailed account, with comments indicating the critical value, of all the archives, documents, periodicals, publications of societies and clubs, speeches and collected works of public men, and all that has been published abroad or at home, concerning the United States, from the earliest period, and of all the separate states since their foundation.

It is with some degree of chagrin that we confess that in this country, where historical learning has for many ages been held in honour, and where public patronage and private liberality have not been wanting in national undertakings, we have no bibliography of British history comparable with this volume. For the early and Middle Ages we have, indeed, an admirable work; but it is by Professor Gross, an American. For our history since 1500 we have nothing that can make any pretence to perfection. Nor does Mr Larned's book stand alone; for such works as Professor Tyler's 'Literary History of the American Revolution,' and the bibliography compiled by Professors Hart and Channing, together with other bibliographies in popular works, contain a mass of useful information. American universities are cordially encouraging the production of such works, and publish freely large numbers of studies of particular epochs and events. There is also at the present time much activity in printing old state laws and other documents, as well as Federal correspondence. A library of American history is now a formidable thing. For a guide to it we are not likely for a long time to have anything better than Mr Larned's bibliography.

The first American historian who undertook the history of his country on an ambitious scale was George Bancroft. Born in 1800, while the echoes of the Revolution were still in the air, when the second President of the Republic was still in office, and when the discussions concerning the constitution were the common property of all who could read, Mr Bancroft was naturally exposed to the influence of the public passion, as he was in a position to acquire all the private information, of his day. The first volumes of his 'History of the United States' were published in 1834; the last volumes appeared in 1874. From its first appearance his work dominated, because it reflected, American public opinion. From his pages the general reader, the professional teacher, the writer for the press, drew their inspiration; and the opinions of vast multitudes of people have been in great measure moulded by his pen. Mr Bancroft was a scholar, a man of great industry; he filled public positions at home and abroad; he had that practical knowledge of public affairs which is as useful to a historian of political events as a knowledge of military details is, according to Gibbon, to a historian of a militant empire. But he was led captive by a wish to imitate the grand style of the eighteenth century historians; and he imitated it in its worst developments, so that the rhetoric of Patrick Henry, not the dignity of Gibbon, too often appears in his pages. He felt also that he had a mission—it was alleged that he said so—to impress the republican and revolutionary opinions at once of America and of France on the minds of American readers; to weaken the lingering remains of the respect which many Americans felt for the hierarchical traditions of their forefathers; and to establish a hatred of monarchy in general, and of British monarchy in particular, which should become permanent among his compatriots. That he succeeded in this mission, the character of most popular histories, and the general state of public opinion during many years, conclusively proves.

Richard Hildreth may be said to have been the first American historian, writing for Americans and publishing in the United States, who broke the tradition of unmitigated panegyric or abuse, and allowed critical reason to have its place in historical narrative. His first volumes were published in 1849, and brought the narrative down

to the organisation of the government under the Federal constitution of 1789. He frankly stated his contention.

'It is due to our fathers and ourselves, it is due to truth and philosophy, to present for once on the historic stage the founders of our American nation unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, wrapped up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuses and apology, with stilts, buskins, tinsel, or bedizenment, in their own proper persons, often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious, and mistaken, but always earnest, downright, manly, and sincere.'

To this rule he adhered; and in language not, indeed, eloquent, but generally readable and always sincere, he wrote the history of the American Revolution. His history has been at least once reprinted—a sufficient testimony to its merits, in view of the many opinions it contains unfavourable to popular notions about the struggle and of the men who took part in it.

Mr Albert Bushnell Hart, professor of history at Harvard University, is a follower of Hildreth rather than of Bancroft. He is the author of a little volume, which has gone through nine editions, entitled 'The Formation of the Union, 1750-1829,' in which he discusses, with a high degree of fairness, the events of the Revolution. He admits that the colonial legislatures were lax in their methods. They were indifferent to the sufferings of the frontiersmen from the Indian depredations, and were more intent on quarrelling with their governors about taxes than on schemes of defence. He also admits that the colonists systematically broke the Navigation Acts, and that they were ready to trade with England's enemies when they could find or make the opportunity. The Navigation Acts were allowed by all the colonists to be legal; and Franklin believed they were beneficial. They stimulated shipbuilding and the shipping interest in the colonies. Between 1772 and 1775 more than two thousand vessels were built in America. With regard to the Stamp Act, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to maintaining an army for defence against Indian attacks, Mr Hart admits that the alleged fear of the colonists that their liberties would be taken away was 'unreasonable,' and that the local means of defence, without such an army, were 'halting and insufficient.' Even Franklin and Otis were of opinion that the Stamp

Act would be obeyed. Concerning the 'Boston Massacre,' once so famous on anniversary occasions, and still prominent in popular compilations, Mr Hart concedes that 'it was caused by no invasion on the rights of Americans,' and that it has gone down to posterity 'under the undeserved title of the Boston Massacre.' He concedes also the fact that in no colony was there at the outset a majority for resistance to Great Britain; and that, when the majorities were formed, they silenced the loyal minorities by intimidation, ostracism, and violence.

'In looking back over this crisis,' he says, 'it is difficult to see that the colonists had suffered grievous oppression. The taxes had not taken 400,000% out of their pockets in ten years. The armies had cost them nothing, and, except in Boston, had not interfered with the governments. The Acts of Trade were systematically evaded; and the battle of Lexington came just in time to relieve John Hancock from the necessity of appearing before the court to answer to a charge of smuggling.'

Mr Hart defends the Revolution on other and general grounds which need not be discussed, our purpose just now being with his admissions as to facts.

The name of John Fiske is better known than that of Professor Hart, because he was a more profuse writer and more popular in his methods. His posthumously published volume, entitled 'New France and New England,' contains some frank criticism and fearless admissions. Thus, in his account of the expedition to Fort Duquesne, at the head waters of the Ohio, in 1754, Fiske makes some remarks characterised by an indignant honesty. It is now well known that Pennsylvania, which was the province really interested, refused to aid an expedition intended to prevent the French from controlling the trade of the west and south; that even Virginia was so slow that the Governor, Dinwiddie, had to employ his own means to equip the small contingent of Virginians under Washington and Fry. The Governor was naturally incensed, and in a letter written at the time expressed himself freely concerning the dilatoriness of the legislature. On this the author makes the following suggestive comment:—

'When we read such letters as this, and realise that through the whole seventy years of struggle with New France the diffi-

culty was always the same, we surely cannot much wonder that the British Minister, at the beginning of Pontiac's war, should have deemed it necessary to resort to such a measure as the Stamp Act. Americans should not forget that while that measure was ill-considered, the evil which it was designed to relieve was most flagrant and dangerous.

In his two volumes of essays, also posthumously published, Fiske embodies many of the prime postulates of his political and historical beliefs. In the lecture on 'The Last Royal Governor of Massachusetts' (Hutchinson), he sums up his principal conclusions regarding the origin and source of the Revolution. He is at times wonderfully frank about the revolutionists, as Macaulay was wonderfully frank about the Whigs; but, since the lectures were delivered to public and necessarily partial audiences, he falls easily into the applause-provoking popular theories as a corrective to his frankness, just as Macaulay made up for his momentary condemnation of the Whigs by still more vehement denunciation of the Tories. The work of Fiske has done some good in clearing the public mind of misconceptions. His style is not remarkable for elegance or strength; it is the familiar popular style of the essayist and the lecturer. But he had a conscience in his work which refused to sanction the poisoning of the wells of history. He did not join in unqualified panegyric of the revolutionary heroes. He could mention George III without profanity and Washington without a genuflection. So far the genius of history must bestow its approval. Had he lived to continue his work he would probably have deserved a large measure of applause. Scattered through his various historical works there are admissions which go to the root of almost every popular opinion and tradition in America. We have but summarised a few of them in order that we might have an opportunity for gratefully including him among those who have in recent years been depriving popular history of its mischievousness by taking away half its prejudice and half its bitterness.

In approaching the 'History of the American People,' by Professor Woodrow Wilson, the distinguished president of Princeton University, we do so with unqualified respect. He has given to the world admirable studies of the constitution, the politics and the history of his

country; and he has delivered his message—for a message it is—in a style of which any national literature might be proud, the style of a scholar as well as of ‘a gentleman at ease, with moral breadth of temperament.’ Our examination of his work must, for the sake of convenience, begin at the period when the first impulses of discontent with the colonial policy of the mother-country were making themselves felt in protestations. ‘The main lines of trade,’ he says, ‘ran, after all, straight to the mother-country, and were protected, when there was need, by English fleets.’ The Navigation Acts were aimed at the Dutch, not at the colonies. If the tobacco of Virginia could be sold only in England, Virginia had the English market for its own; no foreign tobacco could be imported, no native tobacco grown. ‘It was no ruinous or unprofitable arrangement.’ If manufactures of a certain kind were prohibited in the colonies, it made no great practical difference to the colonists. ‘While there is land enough in America for our people,’ said Franklin, ‘there can be no manufactures to any amount or value.’ If foreign shipping adventures were restricted by law, the colonists found a convenient way to plenty of such adventures, at the expense of Spanish traders and possessions, by practices which were contrary to all law. ‘Governors winked at their coming and going, even allowed them to sell their Spanish prizes in English (i.e. colonial) ports.’ The colonial legislatures had their own way, or took it freely, with regard to the payment of governors and judges, and ‘spoke their minds with fearless freedom.’ So much for the general attitude of the mother-country and the colonies. There was, so far, no material out of which a revolution could be made.

When Dr Wilson comes to deal with the great final conflict with France and England in America he omits, for want of space, details which materially affect the narrative. Thus, in dealing with the second, and warlike, expedition of Washington against Fort Duquesne in 1754, he ignores the facts that Washington’s mission was not necessarily a warlike one, and that his instructions were to warn the French off, and only in case of refusal to use force; that Washington’s building of the defences at Great Meadows was a feeble measure; that he refused the warning advice of his Indian ally; that war had not been

declared, and no state of war existed; that he, nevertheless, attacked Jumonville's party in the woods, where they had a perfect right to be, and where, as they alleged, they were on their way with a message to Washington; and that, when he was attacked and had to capitulate, he signed a document admitting the 'assassination' of Jumonville. Washington's excuse was that it was dark, that he trusted his interpreter (chosen by himself), and that he did not know French. In view of the extent to which French literature was read in Virginia at the time, the ignorance of a well-educated young Virginian of the highest rank seems hardly acceptable.

In discussing the subsequent expedition of Braddock, Dr Wilson adopts too readily the British bull-dog theory of Braddock's disposition. 'Braddock,' he says, 'would take no advice from provincials.' Braddock, as we have pointed out, was not ignorant of provincial doings. He was well aware of the utter failure of the previous expedition under purely colonial guidance; and in the preparations for his advance he had been hampered much by colonial obstinacy and greed. That he did not take colonial advice is hardly correct. It was by Washington's advice that he advanced with only part of his forces. It was through trusting to colonial promises that he had only a dozen Indians instead of some hundreds that he bargained for. It was by trusting to the scouting of Virginian cavalry that he was deceived.

Dr Wilson tells us that the attacking force consisted of 'Indians chiefly and Canadian provincials.' It is necessary to point out that, at the first volley of Braddock's artillery, the French-Canadian provincials fled; the attack was continued by Indians and by French regular troops now learned in the lore of the wilderness. Details like these can hardly be omitted without lessening the accuracy of the narrative; and the author omits them. They tend to diminish the value set upon colonial superiority; and it is time that this tradition were abandoned. For three years after the disaster to Braddock the provincials had things pretty much their own way; and their failure against French and Indians was general. It was not till Pitt sent Amherst and Wolfe that the victory over the French was complete; and, when the battle of the Plains of Abraham was fought, there was not a provincial by

the side of Wolfe to share in his victory. The author several times refers to the contemptuous tone of the British officers towards the colonial; but it is necessary to remind him of a fact which should have been familiar to him, that no British officer expressed such contempt for colonial officers and levies as did George Washington, not only in the early days of Braddock's expedition, but in the later days of the Revolution.

In dealing with so extensive a subject as the history of the United States in one volume—though a volume of goodly size—the 'Cambridge Modern History' affords a favourable example of that system of co-operation which commended itself to Lord Acton. The danger in a work of this kind is a conflict of ideas; this has been avoided by the exclusion of partisan theories, and the maintenance of a judicial impartiality which, while setting down nothing in malice, extenuates nothing that demands a measure of blame. It would be difficult to find a topic which has not been touched upon; and if the treatment of some is not as full as we could desire, we must remember the limitations of the scheme, and keep in view the endless volumes that a minute narrative would have required. For the purposes of British students this is the only volume which covers the whole history of the United States, written in view of all the latest information. Indeed we know of no single volume published in America which in the same space contains so satisfactory and so readable a narrative, or which faces the disputed points with so much courage and general accuracy. The scientific classification of the bibliography is unique in this country.

In the first chapter we have, what is not usual, a clear statement of the generally misunderstood relation of the Plymouth colony to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which, though of later origin than Plymouth, eventually absorbed the earlier colony. The 'Pilgrim Fathers' of Plymouth arrived in 1620, and maintained a separate government for seventy years. They were, on the whole, fairly tolerant and loyal. From them many of the Loyalists of the Revolution were descended. The 'Puritan Fathers' settled in Massachusetts Bay in 1629. They were from the beginning intolerant and troublesome. From them the New England revolutionists generally

sprang. This distinction is not usually kept in mind. From the very beginning of the Massachusetts colony theological rancour, political persecution, and a disposition to revolt were obvious. So early as the time of Laud, as we find correctly narrated in this chapter, the colonists, in a fit of petulance with royal rule, 'appointed military commissioners and made provision for fortifying Dorchester, Charleston, and Castle Island, in Boston Bay.' Thus early was the spirit of revolution revealed.

It is perhaps not quite accurate to say, as we find stated in chapter ii, that 'each colony had a constitution modelled on that of the mother-country.' The colonial charters differed much from each other. They contained provisions varying with local circumstances and the degree of influence exercised by their agents in England. The one thing common among them was that their local laws were not to be inconsistent with the laws of England; otherwise they were controlled variously by royal and parliamentary authority, corporate power, or proprietary authority in England. The grievances which arose under these constitutions were, as we find here stated, many, especially in regard to taxation, paper money, and the restriction of trade; yet, as the author says, 'in estimating their justice we must not forget that the mother-country granted compensatory advantages.'

Again, there is a statement in chapter iv which seems to us not quite justified by the facts. With reference to the capture of Louisburg in 1745, we are told that 'this was the most brilliant military exploit ever performed by a British colony prior to the revolutionary war, and was the work of New England alone, and mainly of the colony of Massachusetts'; also that it was 'an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the American colonists, without the instigation, help, or leadership of the mother-country, other than such assistance as Warren's ships rendered in keeping the coast clear.' A close study of the facts will, however, show that it was a royal governor who undertook the plan; that the colonial legislature and general court of Massachusetts reported against it; that the legislature was of opinion that the only course was to ask the aid of the mother-country; that it was through the exertions, the violent exertions, of the Governor that the plan was

finally adopted by a very small majority; that all the colonies, except three, rejected it when they were appealed to, Massachusetts adopting it by one vote; that Great Britain was appealed to for permission to issue paper money on the occasion; that Rhode Island backed out before the expedition sailed; that the mother-country was asked for aid, and Clinton sent cannon from New York; that the colonists were repulsed five times by the French, who were short of food and mutinous; and lastly, that, but for the fleet of Warren, the whole expedition would have failed. In these circumstances it is hardly just to say that the expedition was carried out without the aid of the mother-country. This poor mother-country has some historical rights which we are bound to respect. Besides, she paid all the expenses of the expedition.

The two expeditions led by Washington against Fort Duquesne—viz. that in which he was sent to give notice to the French to withdraw from lands in which Dinwiddie and Washington and his brother were interested; and the second expedition in force which ended in disaster at Fort Necessity—are described with fairness; though we may doubt if the expression 'a skirmish of vanguards,' as a description of the attack by Washington on Jumonville, is strictly accurate. We suspect that undue weight is given in chapter v to the idea that Chatham could have reconciled the colonists by any plans that he ever proposed, none of these being in any degree acceptable to the Americans. But there is justice in the remark that, 'if the ministry are to be blamed for want of foresight, the blame must be shared by almost every responsible politician of that day,' and, it might be added, by every system of colonial government.

Chapter vi, by Dr Bigelow, is an admirable condensation and narrative of the legal questions arising out of the revolutionary movement. The famous Writs of Assistance are discussed with skill and learning; but the fact remains that the court decided they were legal; and the argument against them, by Otis, proceeded on the untenable ground that Parliament had, in the matter of such writs, no authority over the colonies. It was not argument; it was repudiation. The writs were issued in virtue of a statute of Charles II; they were especially framed to aid revenue officers; they had been extended

to America by William III; they had been previously applied for and issued in the colony of Massachusetts without protest; the legality of them in England was admitted; the necessity for them in America was notorious. Otis himself had contentedly held an Admiralty office under an English statute, till he resigned it to argue against the Writs of Assistance; and the writs ran unopposed in the colonies for years after the Massachusetts decision. 'No American,' says the writer, 'attempted to define the bounds of the right of Great Britain; general theory was all that was urged.' General theory could be urged against any form of law or system of government then or now. It is the last resort of the law-breaker in every age, in every land.

The account of the growth of the nation and of its commercial and territorial expansion, and the effect of slavery on the public mind and interests, is admirably written by Professor McMaster, and gives no occasion for criticism. The chapter devoted to the origin and growth of State Rights is one of the clearest narratives we have encountered of a rather difficult subject. It is important because it leads the reader on the road to the great struggle of the Civil War. We could wish for more space to deal with the chapters by the late Mr Nicolay, the secretary and biographer of Lincoln, which relate to that great struggle. They betray, it is true, some lack of that impartiality which in general distinguishes the volume; they do insufficient justice to the Southern leaders; but, apart from this defect, the story of the Civil War is brilliantly and clearly told. Other wars of history have been waged regarding territorial rights, dynastic disputes, foreign policies, or international offences of grave character. This was a great war waged mainly on nice points of a written constitution, on their bearing on domestic institutions, and on their interpretation by courts. The position of the South is clearly stated by Dr Woodrow Wilson in chapter xiii:—

'Her statesmen had led in the era of the Revolution. The Union seemed largely of her making. Madison's had been the planning mind in its construction; Washington's mastery had established it; Jefferson had made it democratic in practice as in theory. For thirty-two out of the first forty years of the existence of the Union Virginian statesmen had occupied

the presidential office, and had guided, as well as presided over, affairs.'

It was natural enough that the long dominant power should behold with dismay the gradual extinction of its authority in Congress, and the probable abolition of the institution of slavery, which had now become, in its opinion, a necessity of state prosperity. When the Supreme Court, in the 'Dred Scott' case, decided that the constitution enjoined the protection, not the abolition, of slavery as a state right, it was also natural that the South should feel this to be a renewal of its power, as well as of its right, to rule. The condition of public opinion in general favoured the renewed ambition of the South in its maintenance of the State Rights theory:—

'No doubt the whole country had felt a certain critical coolness towards the constitution throughout the generation which framed and adopted it. Statesmen defended, praised, expounded, fortified it; courts diligently wove its provisions into the law of the land; success added prestige to the general government which it had set up; but the little commonwealths of the long sea-board, which had agreed to live under it, kept their old pride of separateness, thought of it at first rather as a serviceable arrangement than as an unalterable law, respected it but did not love it, and were ready enough to question it, asking once and again, as they had asked at first, whether it was really, after all, calculated to promote their interests. And this was the point of view which the South, more than any other part of the country, had kept, because she, more than any other part of the country, had remained unchanged.'

As a matter of fact, there was hardly a single state which had not, at some time previous to 1860, set up the doctrine of State Rights as against Federal authority, and had not approached the threshold of secession in maintenance of local privilege. The Southern leaders of opinion probably calculated too confidently on this general tendency towards the maintenance of State Rights. In the triumph before the Supreme Court, they ignored or underrated the other tendencies which nullified it. The growth of population in the north and west; the actual defeat of all attempts at secession; the entanglement of the Federal Government in foreign treaties necessary for

commercial purposes, and impossible without a Federal system; the increase in manufacturing activity demanding a protective tariff for its encouragement, which could be had only from the Federal power; the growth of the abolition sentiment even amongst those who were friendly to the South on other questions of politics; and the pride of nationality which had arisen rapidly since the war of 1812—these, among other things, contributed to form a body of opinion and a force in politics, as in war, against which the South was to struggle in vain. With the details of the struggle we are unable at this time to deal. They are clearly narrated, as are all the phases of the history of the United States, down to the close of the war with Spain, which leaves the nation face to face with questions on which constitutional law has again to be interpreted, happily, so far, without serious opposition or questionable results. The problems arising in the government of colonies and subject peoples form the theme of much of the history of America. The future holds a store of them for settlement. The experience of the past affords valuable aid to American statesmen.

But to return to an earlier period. Among the recent histories of the United States one, at least, embodies views which, till recently, would have exposed its author to social ostracism, or worse. It is entitled the 'True History of the American Revolution'; and the author, Mr Sydney Fisher, is to be complimented on his courage. 'Considering,' says Swift, 'that natural disposition in many men to lie, and in multitudes to believe, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim, so frequent in everybody's mouth, that truth will at last prevail.' Truth in history, especially history which is mainly political, is not easy to attain. Mr Fisher's effort is commendable. That he has found a publisher and a public is one of the most satisfactory signs of the times. When a people is patient in listening to corrosive criticism of its national idols, there is a large hope for the decay of prejudice. The author treats the panegyrical labours of his predecessors in this field with some degree of disdain, and supplies freely those disagreeable facts so many of them have striven to conceal or have treated as trivial. 'I cannot see,' he says, 'any advantage in not

describing in their full meaning and force the smuggling, the buying of laws from the governors, and other irregular conduct in the colonies, which led England to try to remodel them as soon as the fear of the French in Canada was removed.' The hitherto popular historians have preferred to dwell rather on the iniquity of customs laws and Navigation Acts. This was naturally an easier road to public approbation. Mr Fisher tells his readers that 'the Revolution was a much more ugly and unpleasant affair than most of us imagine.' With regard to the Navigation Acts, he makes this practical comment:—

'The colonists never objected to these provisions, because most of them favored the colonists as much as they favored England. They built up and encouraged colonial shipping. The provisions relating to the coasting trade we ourselves adopted as soon as we became a nation; and we still confine our coasting trade to our own vessels. We also, in 1816 and afterwards, passed navigation acts somewhat similar in their provisions to these clauses of the English act which have been cited. There is no question that these and similar protective provisions assisted in building up the greatness and power of England and the prosperity of the colonies.'

Even Franklin admitted as much to Lord Chatham; but Franklin's protests, and not his admissions, have mainly entered into the national history. The author describes the various laws which enabled the colonies to have the sole open market in England for the special produce of each of them, and admits that colonies which had cost so much to defend, and were so carefully protected in their commercial interests, should have been prepared to make some return for their preservation and prosperity.

At this date, he contends, no government in the United States would tolerate for a day, in any of the states or any part of its subject dominions, the conduct which, in the case of the old colonies, is called patriotism. 'The patriot colonists,' he says, 'when aroused, were lawless, and, while clamouring for independence, violated in a most shocking manner the rights of personal liberty and property.' The destruction of the tea in Boston harbour is so generally described in patriotic terms in school histories that no school-children would see that it was 'a lawless violation of the rights of private property and

an open defiance of governmental authority. "No taxation without representation," he says, 'was never a part of the British constitution, and is not even now'; and the taxation of the colonies was not a new idea, but had been submitted to in many instances for a century without protest. The distinction between external and internal taxation he declares absurd; the colonists saw this and shifted their ground. He gives an appalling description of the persecutions suffered by the Loyalists for ten years previous to 1776, and points out that the shocking practices of those days have made an indelible impression on the public mind, and have been the origin and source of that lynch-law which has been so discreditably conspicuous in modern times.

'One of the first results of the revolutionary movement was the rise of the ignorant classes into power and the steady deterioration in the character and manners of public men. Cobblers and mechanics became captains and colonels, or got important positions in State governments. The Congress seemed to become narrow-minded, factious, and contemptible.'

We have additional testimony on this point in the description given by Adams of his colleagues in Congress, and in the account which Jay gave of the men in the second Congress. With a daring frankness the author says:—

'If the Loyalists could come back from the grave they would probably say that their fears and prophecies had been fulfilled in the most extraordinary manner—sometimes literally, in most cases substantially. There is no question that the Revolution was followed by a great deal of bad government, political corruption, sectional strife, coarseness in manners, hostility to the arts and refinements of life, assassination, lynch-law, and other things which horrified Englishmen and afforded the stock material for the ridicule of such writers as Dickens and Mrs Montagu.'

What Mr Fisher says, in brief, of the persecutions suffered by the Loyalists, Mr Van Tyne repeats at length in a volume wholly devoted to the subject. The literature on this phase of the Revolution has been of slow growth, but has now assumed considerable proportions. Sabine's work is well known. Dr Ryerson's two volumes on the 'Loyalists of America and their Times' are a

valuable compilation made with great care and accuracy. Mr M. C. Tyler has contributed a valuable study to the 'American Historical Review.' Mr Lecky has given some space to the subject. The various histories of Canada naturally discuss the fortunes and sufferings of those who formed so large a part of the population, and whose descendants are among the most prominent and loyal citizens in every part of the country. Mr Van Tyne, in a cold and cautious tone, describes in detail the proceedings against the Loyalists in all the colonies during the revolutionary period. From being the great majority of the educated, the wealthy, the enterprising, the influential, the refined and respected members of every community, the Loyalists became in a few years the ruined, robbed, persecuted, and hated minority. The narrative of the means by which this change was effected shows us how little we have known of the inner history of the Revolution. Every form of inimical ingenuity was exerted against them. Private intimidation, public persecution, secret conspiracy, robbery of houses, denunciation by handbills and secret communications, tarring and feathering, and, as time went on, penal laws and systematic confiscation, were all utilised to break their spirits, paralyse their power, and drive them from their homes and their country. All the terrors which were afterwards so common regarding 'aristocrats' in France, save the universal terror of death—and death itself was inflicted in known, as well as in multitudes of unrecorded, cases—were common experiences among men whose sole crime was a refusal to join in rebellion.

Mr Van Tyne's summary of their sufferings is significant, and may best be given in his own words:—

'They had been threatened, boycotted, plundered; committees had summoned them to examinations from which they had escaped, perhaps, with a recantation and a reprimand, or, more likely, they had been ostracised or paroled and compelled to find a surety, willing to forfeit some extravagant amount if they committed any breach of Whig law. Then apprehensive neighbors denounced them or drew up petitions to have them removed, and gave the authorities no rest until they were disarmed. They had been obliged to accept at par the depreciated money, and had stood in terror of the law of the maximum (i.e. as to maximum prices which were safely

advanced on Tories though not on Whigs). Finally, a test act had demanded of them an oath which they could not take; and refusal had brought upon them fines, disabilities, special taxation, and even whipping and imprisonment. Where the partizan struggle was hottest, the persecutors had already resorted to proscription, outlawry, and confiscation.'

Naturally there was some resentment and resistance. That the Tories should join the British forces, should form committees of assistance, should form themselves here and there into companies of militia or into bodies of light horse, was a result very natural in the circumstances. Tarleton and his legion did splendid service in the field. The names of Johnson and his 'Loyal Greens,' Butler and his 'Tory Rangers,' McDonald and his 'Caroline Volunteers,' are familiar in the history of the time. Had the Loyalists been encouraged, organised, supplied and recognised by the military authorities, as the colonists in general were organised and supplied and recognised by the Government in the war against the French, they might have succeeded. The revolutionists naturally resented their activity and made special efforts, with success, to exterminate them. We shall never know the bitterness of the contests, in obscure fields and forests, in places remote from the chief fields of war, which were waged between small bodies of exasperated men, nor the murders and cruelties which were perpetrated, probably by both sides. The Tories suffered most, for they were finally almost annihilated.

Mr Van Tyne allows us to see with unusual and surprising clearness the favour with which Washington looked on the persecution of the Tories. When Dorchester heights were fortified and Boston became untenable, Washington wrote:—

'The last trump could not have struck the Tories with greater consternation. One or two have done what a great number ought to have done long ago—committed suicide. . . . By all accounts there never existed a more miserable set of beings than these wretched creatures now are.'

They were, as he must have known, among the very best people, the flower of the population, now reduced to beggary in many cases. In 1775 he had ordered the

seizure of all unfriendly government officers who were in the vicinity of the seat of war. Mr Van Tyne says :—

'To the Governor of Rhode Island he addressed the rhetorical question, whether it would not be "prudent to seize on those Tories who have been, are, and that we know will be, active against us. Why should persons who are preying on the vitals of the country be suffered to stalk at large whilst we know that they will do us every mischief in their power?"'

He repeatedly complained of the 'diabolical and insidious arts' of the Loyalists. He advocated their peremptory disarmament. He approved of all the severest laws against them, and advised all the colonies to follow the example of Connecticut. He issued orders for the seizure of the Tories on Long Island and in New York, in order to 'root out or secure such abominable pests of society.' He approved of the Confiscation Acts, and thought the times demanded such severity; and in time all loyalist property was confiscated and sold for the benefit of the state. It need hardly be added that much, if not most, of the proceeds remained in the hands of the speculators and peculators.

If Mr Van Tyne is cool in his manner of stating facts, Sir George Trevelyan cannot be accused of frigidity or hesitation in his continued defence of the old Whig theory of the Revolution. In his later as in his earlier volumes he is brilliantly incorrigible; and criticism, however conclusive, seems only to make him more defiant. He still clings to the theory of Franklin's sincerity, still denounces the King, still ignores the unpatriotic character of much of the opposition which ministers experienced in England, and still refuses to give weight to all the laws, charters, constitutions, and customs by which colonial obedience had for more than a century been guided. His political philosophy is peculiar. He entertains with light-hearted complacency the curious opinion that in times of crisis it is the business of a ministry to be always guided by the Opposition. 'It may well be doubted,' he says, 'whether it is the function of history to find apologies for men who, over and over again, at a very great crisis, adopted a wrong course in defiance of the opinion strongly held and fearlessly urged by many among the best and most far-seeing of their own contemporaries.' It is

difficult to treat an argument of this kind seriously. Precisely the same argument might be used against the ministry which refused to adopt a policy of disintegration in regard to Ireland, or that which more recently declined to make a humiliating and disastrous submission to the Boers. The public men who advocated Home Rule, the public men who denounced the war which was waged in South Africa, held their opinions strongly and urged them fearlessly, and looked on themselves as the best and most far-seeing of their contemporaries. But history will write them as quite another kind of statesmen. History must eventually do the like for those who, in the American struggle, as in the revolutionary period which followed in Europe, were invariably on the side of the enemies of their country.

All the problems of the American War, we are told, 'were problems demanding nothing beyond good sense and good feeling for their right solution.' This is political philosophy in caricature. The same might be said, and said as vaguely and vainly, about any war that has ever been waged. If good sense and good feeling are to be the sole solution of international difficulties, where are we to find the tribunal to define and administer them? Of what use are treaties and conventions, charters, laws, customs, and traditional powers, if in the end they are to make way for so vague a substitute as 'good sense and good feeling'; and if good sense and good feeling are only to be found among those who are, at the time of crisis, the opponents of a government? To put the matter to a practical test in the case of the American Revolution, what sort of good sense and good feeling prevailed among the friends of the Revolution in England? Not one of them advocated a policy which would have been acceptable in America. They were all of opinion that Boston should be called upon to make reparation for the destruction of the tea; but the Americans scouted the idea. Chatham, who was their chief mouthpiece, was almost violent in declaring that England had power to bind their trade externally; but they were determined that should not be. He had told them in 1759 that, after the war with France was over, he would propose measures for taxing them in their own defence; but they were determined to pay no taxes. He denounced their smuggling; but they were

determined on the practice. He emphatically declared the dependence of the colonies on the Crown and Parliament; but they were ready to fight to get rid of it. He demanded the grant of a revenue to the King; but they were unwilling to make it. And all his demands for conciliation were based on the condition that a congress should assemble to accept his proposals. If these things exhibit in any degree that good sense and good feeling to which Sir George Trevelyan refers, we can but say that the Americans were not prepared to recognise them by that name.

In his two last volumes Sir George Trevelyan, it is true, shows some disposition to admit the existence of those reprehensible qualities among many of the fathers of the Revolution to which we called attention on a previous occasion, and which the later school of American historians frankly admit. But his comment on these admissions is: 'All this may be valuable history. It may all be worth telling. It is quite in place as an explanation of the sentiments excited in the British Parliament by the transactions in America; but as an argument for or against the wisdom of the British policy it is of no account at all.' We may insist, however, that it is of great account against a historian who calls Franklin an 'austere' patriot, finds in John Adams the materials for a sonnet by Wordsworth, and has based on their 'austerity' and 'rugged' virtues an unfair attack upon public men in England. Still, in a case of this kind, we suppose, half an apology is better than no truth.

That a well-grounded fear for the safety of English liberty at home animated those who encouraged the colonists to rebellion in America is a point which Sir George Trevelyan labours to impress on his readers. An appeal to liberty is always a first and favourite resort of the disaffected. It is much easier to talk about rights than about duties; and the just insistence upon law and order is easily mistranslated into tyranny. History is full of such subterfuges. But English liberty was in little danger. Sir George Trevelyan himself points out with great particularity how the Lords and Commons, the pamphleteers, the press and petitioners, were free and active in expressing their hostility to the war and in condemning the King and his ministers. Parliamentary

government was far too well established in England to justify any fear that the maintenance of the King's authority in America would jeopardise political freedom at home. The real danger was that the successful revolt of the colonists against the Crown, the Parliament, and the laws alike of the kingdom and the colonies, would weaken the law-abiding character of the people at large. We know how that revolt affected the fortunes of France. If its evil effects were not felt seriously in England, in spite of efforts made to popularise revolutionary principles by 'Friends of the People' and similar bodies, it was because the nation was soon preoccupied by the international struggle, which revealed in their true colours the nature and tendency of revolutionary doctrines.

The relation of France to the revolutionary contest in America is suggested and discussed in the volume by the Vicomte de Noailles. It can hardly be considered a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the time, but it contains details which are interesting concerning the admirals and generals of the French auxiliary forces. The author was probably induced to compile the volume by the fact that an ancestor served with distinction on the American side, and was thanked by Congress. He does for his memory what Lord Mahon did for the Stanhopes of the eighteenth century; he discusses the merits of his hero with no undue praise, and is fully justified by facts in bringing forward for recognition and remembrance an honourable name. The interest of France in the Revolution was not unnatural. After the loss of Quebec, French public men—Choiseul and Turgot, for instance—recognised, or at least hoped, that the colonies of England, relieved from the pressure of the French in Canada, would soon begin to grow restive under the rule of Great Britain.

Signs had not been wanting that the colonies had ambitions inconsistent with prolonged subjection. In 1767 the Duc de Choiseul had sent Baron de Kalb on a mission to inspect the defences of the French coast. Thence he was sent to Holland, where his duty was to report all that could be learned concerning America and the state of public feeling there. Finally, he was ordered to America in 1768. He arrived there after a tempestuous passage ending in shipwreck, the details of which are

given with much vividness by the Vicomte de Noailles. Kalb's reports were not, on the whole, very encouraging. He did not find, he said, a very mutinous disposition. The British commanders were acting with great forbearance and discretion. He was unable to advise that France would find it to her advantage to make any attack on England in America. On his return he was coldly treated, but persisted in presenting reports of the gradual growth of revolutionary feeling. In the end he was rewarded by promotion, and his expenses were paid; but in the meantime his patron fell from power. In 1777 he returned to America with La Fayette; was made a major-general; served in the South with distinction under Gates; and was mortally wounded at Camden in 1780. When Louis XVI succeeded to the throne in 1774, and Vergennes was minister, another secret agent was sent to America in the person of M. de Bonvouloir. Affairs had in the meantime altered their aspect; and the hopes of the French court in the success of the colonies were revived.

The author discusses in detail the proceedings of Admiral d'Estaing, Admiral Count de Guichen, General Rochambeau, and Admiral Count de Grasse. A general review of the proceedings of the French navy and army during the short period they were engaged in the contest does not afford, on the whole, much ground for national rejoicing. D'Estaing's campaign was not successful. He failed at Newport in 1778, again disastrously at Savannah in 1779, and withdrew to France. His end was unfortunate; he was guillotined in April 1794 by an ungrateful Republic. Rochambeau was at first unsuccessful. He was blockaded in Narragansett Bay in 1780; and nearly a year elapsed before he was able to accomplish anything with the forces at his disposal. His officers reported that all the best people were 'Tories,' and that the conduct of the others was objectionable. They overcharged their French allies for supplies, while the allies were supplying the patriots with powder. When De Grasse arrived in 1781 at Yorktown, in advance of the British fleet, Rochambeau and his troops were able to take an effective part in the siege of the last British stronghold; and Lord Cornwallis was obliged to surrender. This was the one signal service rendered by the French. Aid had

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been given in secret supplies of money and arms; and the treaty of alliance of 1778 had been diplomatically valuable; but it was the timely arrival of De Grasse at Yorktown which rendered the alliance of practical and supreme value. It put an end to the efforts of Great Britain to retain her colonies. It is somewhat melancholy to recall the fact that De Grasse, in spite of his brilliant exploit in America, fell from favour after his defeat by Rodney in 1782, and died in 1788 still under the cloud of royal disfavour.

‘The painful warrior famousd for fight
After a thousand victories, once foiled,
Is from the book of honour razd quite
And all the rest forgot for which he toiled.’

When the struggle for independence was over, and the last gun had been fired; when the British troops had departed from the shores of America, and the rebellion had become a revolution; the people of the United States found themselves face to face with problems in the settlement of which they had small experience to aid them, and as to which history offered them little instruction. They had been inspired, during the contest with the royal authority, by ideas and enthusiasms derived from the Puritan period in England; but now the Puritan precedent failed them. The statesmen of the Commonwealth had begun by the capture and control of the parliamentary machinery, with all that this implied of power over the army, the magistracy, the public law, and the public treasury. Their courts sat; their laws were obeyed; the municipal organisation of the country continued unbroken in their charge; the foreign and colonial policy of the nation was continuous, and in a great measure unchanged; and, when the King's authority ended with his death, the successors of his power entered on an executive, legislative, and administrative system which required little alteration to fit it to their purposes.

In the United States everything was different. During the struggle the insurgents were under no legal or constitutional authority. The army was but half subordinate. The taxes were scantily and reluctantly paid. Congress was an experimental body, with no power of

compulsion. There was practically no general law, and no central judicature. The state organisation was imperfect. The Federation was a mere agreement of public men for a common purpose. The generals were jealous of each other and resentful towards Congress, while Congress was suspicious of the generals and doubtful of its own policy and purposes.

Thus, when the struggle with England was over, the troubles of the young state began. The ideas of the people had to be educated to the new conditions of republicanism. A body of public law had to be provided, a new constitution framed, a new system of courts established, a new theory of international relations evolved. A practical scheme of finance had to be immediately adopted. This was imperative, for the treasury was bankrupt. Congress had vainly recommended to the states the raising of revenue for the national needs. Rhode Island refused to raise anything. Pennsylvania paid about a tenth. South Carolina was the only state that paid in full. 'As for the other states,' wrote Treasurer Morris, in August 1783, 'I pray leave to avoid any further comments on the balances of their accounts.' Six years of weakness, confusion, distress, and discontent were to follow before the constitution of the nation was established and order evolved out of chaos. How the constitution was framed; how order was evolved and a revenue raised; how law was imposed and obeyed; how the powers of the Federation and the states were defined; how the new Republic entered on its astounding career of material prosperity—all this is a story which has been narrated by native historians with much panegyric and many appeals to national pride.

One of the first things requisite was to regulate the foreign relations of the United States. Treaties were necessary for securing a place in the commonwealth of nations, and for the safe conduct of commerce. Professor Hart, in the volume which we have mentioned at the head of this paper, gives us, in his accurate and painstaking manner, an interesting account of American diplomacy during the early period. In 1775 the Committee of Foreign Affairs was established, and wrote its first instructions to foreign agents. In 1776 a regular embassy was commissioned for France, which, however,

had not yet regularly recognised the Republic; and commissioners were sent to Austria, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany. In 1778 France entered into treaties of alliance and commerce, thus enabling the Americans to succeed in a struggle which was threatening to end in disaster. Prussia held aloof, though Frederick had watched the contest with a cynical belief in the success of the Americans. Russia refused in 1780 to receive Dana, the American envoy. Holland recognised the new nationality in 1782, and in 1783 sent a minister to the States. In 1783 Sweden and Prussia, simultaneously with the general treaty of peace, engaged in commercial treaties.

It was not out of any special love for the Republic that the nations of Europe thus entered into engagements, but from the desire of commercial advantages. When the commercial advantage did not arise, and it was seen that trade was going to England, all of them, as Mr Hart says, 'felt disappointed and sore.' England was still in a doubtful mood, and for the present would grant no privileges in home ports. 'It is obvious,' said Adams in England, 'that all the powers in Europe will be continuously manœuvring with us to work us into their real or imaginary balances of power.' Facts justified the comment. In 1793 the French minister in America outraged public feeling by trying to make the United States the base of operations against Great Britain, and he was dismissed. In 1794 Mr Jay's treaty with Great Britain, which caused so much trouble to Washington, but was so necessary and so advantageous to the United States, was negotiated. The entry of the United States into the foreign affairs of the world was made in 1800 by the declaration of war on its former ally France, and in 1802 by the expedition against the Barbary pirates, to whose exactions and outrages Europe had so long submitted. In 1803 Louisiana was acquired by purchase from Napoleon; and the territory was now rounded off, at least on the south-east and south, into the magnificent dimensions which have been in due time so marvellously occupied and developed.

Meantime the pressing need of the country was for a revision of its constitution. The confederation of states was not a federal union. The first Continental Congress assembled in 1774 at Philadelphia. It formed an associa-

tion for non-importation, and formulated a Bill of Rights, which consisted of a series of plainly disputable assertions, which, later, entered into the Declaration of Independence. It had, of course, no legal status, either in British or American law. The second Congress assembled in Philadelphia in May 1775. It was a more business-like institution, and, though without any legal status, it proceeded to enter into diplomatic correspondence, to control the Indians, to regulate the Post Office, to arrange boundaries, to govern trade, to prohibit slavery, to raise money, to impose taxes to an extent that England had never dreamed of doing, and finally, in 1776, to declare independence. This Congress lasted till 1781, when the Articles of Confederation were drawn up.

From 1781 to 1788 Congress had at least such legal powers as the revolutionary states could confer on it; and, though it was never an efficient nor a respected body, it was at least the 'pivot on which the Revolution moved.' But it had no coercive power; it was, as Judge Cooley says, in his 'Principles of Constitutional Law,' 'one in promising, and thirteen when performance was due, until it became at last difficult to enlist sufficient interest in its proceedings to keep up the forms of government through the meetings of Congress and of the Executive Committee.' In 1787 this ineffective body passed a resolution recommending a convention at Philadelphia to revise the articles and provide a new Federal constitution. The constitution of 1789 was the result. Perhaps the fullest and clearest account yet given of the debates in which that polity was forged is to be found in a chapter contributed by Professor Bigelow to the 'Cambridge Modern History.' Containing, as it does, a view of all the chief proposals and amendments, with the reasons that actuated the convention in accepting or rejecting them, it forms a document of great value to all students of Federal methods and principles.

Of all forms of government a written constitution is the most difficult to work. It is liable to be challenged, to be misunderstood, to be misrepresented. As it necessarily contains the authority, and the procedure, for its own alteration, the alteration is sure to come about. Naturally containing provisions that bear variously with varying conditions, it is sure to excite hostility at some

point. Formed as it is by political compromise, political causes in time demand new compromises. The constitution of the United States was destined to run the usual course. Adopted with variations from the state constitutions of 1776, which were themselves adopted from the old compromise charters and constitutions of the colonial period, the new instrument contained many vague terms and the germs of future dissensions. Some public men agitated privately for the adoption of a monarchical form. Washington had been sounded as to his acceptance of a crown. When these reactionary possibilities were removed from the field of practical politics, there was still the constitution to be interpreted; for much had been left vague for fear of dissension and rejection. There were those who adopted the theory of a strict, literal interpretation, making for State Rights. There were those who adopted a theory of loose construction, making for the increase of Federal power. Hence arose party terminology. The Federals naturally prevailed for long over the Republicans, owing to the necessity for organising the Federal machinery. Rhode Island and North Carolina had to be gently coerced into the Federal system by making them subject to customs duties as foreign states. When they yielded, they did so with an avowed understanding that they submitted in the free exercise of their powers as sovereign states. Had this been a correct theory there would have been no federation. The agreement to unite was coercive in itself; and circumstances exercised a general coercive power. But here at the very beginning was a little rift within the lute. The dangerous theory of these two states was destined to become the dangerous theory of the secessionists in 1860.

In Washington's first cabinet the seeds of dissension were sown. Hamilton and his school were with Washington for Federation; Jefferson and his school were for strict construction and state sovereignty. The Federal idea was new; but for the authority of Washington its fate would have been uncertain. The state-sovereignty idea was familiar; and the popularity of Jefferson made him dangerous to Washington, against whom he was always conspiring. Washington's proclamation of neutrality in the revolutionary war of 1793

was distasteful to Jefferson, who was indoctrinated with French ideas. He and his school were denounced as Democrats, i.e. Democratic-Republicans; and the title remains to this day. The Federalists passed alien and sedition laws, as in England; and these were bitterly denounced by the democratic element. The first judges being Federalists, these laws were made operative. When, in 1800-1801, the Jeffersonian Republicans obtained power, they adopted state sovereignty as the note of their politics. They procured alterations in state constitutions to give the states more power. The theory began to develop its mischievous tendencies. The Tariff Act of 1832, which was a political as well as an economic measure—i.e. intended to make internal trade depend on Federal legislation—was rejected by South Carolina, which called a convention and threatened to secede. The President called a congress, sent a naval force to Charleston, and threatened war. A compromise was adopted; Nullification was withdrawn; and the tariff was lowered. But here was the germ of the great Civil War.

As an introduction to the study and understanding of the constitution as it exists, the ingenious and able work on the 'Evolution of the Constitution of the United States,' by Mr Sydney Fisher, is a most instructive volume. Starting with the statement of Mr Gladstone, that 'the American constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man,' Mr Fisher proceeds, with great patience and profuse detail, to show that this is a false conception of the origin and growth of the constitution. His contention is that the American constitution was not made, but that, like the British constitution, it simply grew, in great part, out of ancient practice, long experience, and local necessities. His argument goes shrewdly to the root of many of the complaints of the colonies, that they were hampered by the mother-country's restrictions. He shows—though not for that purpose—that all the original charters and forms of government in the various colonies were framed (when framed in England) by the aid of colonial agents, or with the aid and consent of those who, as trading companies, as proprietors, or as governors of the new colonies, were specially interested in having as much local freedom as possible; and they

had it. The charter of Connecticut, for example, granted by Charles II, was so admirable and convenient that the state lived under it till 1818. The charters of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, 'may be said to have been drafted by American influence, the result of American experience; and they were not the mere theorising of Crown officers, or of the persons who had never lived in America.' The author tries to show that, instead of being copied from English or Dutch models, the early constitutions were purely American, prepared by Americans, full of American experience, and careful of American needs. If, therefore, they produced irritation, it is natural and logical to contend that the cause must be sought in America, not in England. The old constitution of Pennsylvania was purely American. 'There was no royal influence affecting the making of this constitution. No officer of the Crown was present or had a right to be present. Both Penn and his people were standing on the soil of Pennsylvania.' The institutions of the colony were 'largely what the colonists themselves had desired and suggested.' As to the Massachusetts charter of 1691, given after the suspension of 1684, 'the people appear to have had some voice in shaping it, for they had their agents in England.' The claim for a purely American origin is certainly strong. But, as we have said, it strikes at the root of the *bona fides* of American complaints of the oppressive character of English rule under such constitutions.

Mr Fisher goes on to develop his argument by showing that when, in 1776, all the new states were forced to adapt their governments to revolutionary conditions, they generally retained the old constitutions, adding some new and progressive amendments, but in some cases going back to the very earliest period in a reactionary manner. He makes out this case with great detail and in an unanswerable fashion. The one colony that made serious changes was Pennsylvania, where Franklin's influence prevailed, and where the lowest class had sway; and Mr Fisher tells us that this constitution proved entirely unsuccessful. Georgia went back deliberately to the old colonial system. The Massachusetts constitution copied the old form, but it was temporarily rejected. It is in these state constitutions, themselves the product

of American experience under the old colonial system, and not in any fancied source in England or France or Holland, that the details of the American constitution of 1789 are to be found. Thus the provision regarding the adjournment of the two Houses is taken from the constitution of New Hampshire; the title of 'President' is taken from South Carolina; the opening paragraph of the Declaration of Independence is taken from Virginia; the title of the 'Senate' from the same source; the power to lay 'embargoes' was taken from Delaware; the language regarding a 'well-regulated militia' is from Maryland; the provisions regarding the modified veto-power of the President are taken from New York; the method of impeachment is from South Carolina.

This strengthens Mr Fisher's argument on the doctrinal development of the American constitution. When he examines, point by point, the provisions of the constitution of 1789 as compared with the constitutional practice and theory of England, his argument is equally strong. When he uses the same experimental form of reasoning on the Dutch-origin argument, he is without any fear of successful reply. He has, we may concede, established his claim that American political institutions grew gradually out of the old colonial relation without much conscious effort at imitating English or other forms. He minimises, indeed, the share which English kings, ministers, and lawyers had in suggesting, framing, and consenting to those old charters, and the share which the old trading corporations had in dictating details. But we are content to allow him to enjoy to the full the benefit of his ingenious contention, since it enables us to put forward with confidence the comment that, if the institutions did not work well for freedom and peace, the fault must be found in the men who worked them.

The limit of State Rights, in other words, the theory of the Union, was the great issue at stake in 1861. In his 'True History of the Civil War,' Mr Guy Carleton Lee clearly and impartially draws out in detail the rise and progress of the dissensions which led to the irrepressible conflict. The theory of state sovereignty was only one element in the mischief that was brewing. What made it active and dangerous was the question of slavery. In early colonial times slavery had been an

accepted institution all over the colonies, north and south; and this condition of things lasted long. If economic conditions rendered slavery needless in the north, economic conditions—the growth of rice and cotton, and the invention of machinery—made slavery more profitable as well as popular in the south. The maintenance of slavery became soon a political question of pressing importance in the south. The tide of immigration pouring into the north gave increased political power. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 added largely to the slave-holding territory. In 1820 the admission of Missouri as a slave-holding state was balanced by the addition of Maine as a free state; and from this time states were added equally, one on each side, by general consent. But from this date the country was divided into two nations, the slave-holding and the free states; and they drifted apart hopelessly.

About 1833 the anti-slavery campaign was begun. It never ceased till Lincoln issued his proclamation in the midst of the war, by virtue, not of his civil, but of his military power. In 1845 Texas was admitted as a slave-state under Polk. Then followed the Mexican war, and immense additions of territory. Slavery was not permitted by Mexican law, as it had been in Louisiana. If slavery were not permitted in the new territories, the power of the South—which up to this time had been dominant—would be weakened or destroyed. In 1849 the question was settled, if settlement it can be called. California came in as a free state; but Texas was enlarged and two territories were created (Utah and New Mexico), with the slavery question unsolved; and a fugitive slave-law was conceded. From 1850 the drift was rapid. The slave-states and the slave-owners became organised, like the revolutionists of the early period. The division among the people was remarkable. Slavery divided all the churches, except the Episcopalian and the Roman Catholic. It divided the educated world, as the southern planters no longer sent their sons to northern universities. It divided every class of society. Party names began to be obliterated; the Federalists became Free-soilers; the Democratic-Republicans, simply Democrats. All the elements of conflict were ripening.

The South now began a change of policy. Having

had hitherto all the power in their hands, electing the presidents, selecting the ministers, and dictating laws, the slave-states were simply on the defensive. Under the influence of Mr Calhoun and others they now undertook to be aggressive, thereby hastening the conflict. They began to demand protection for slavery as a state necessity, against the obvious increase of anti-slavery influence and opinion. This was a mistake, since the demand for abolition was really not a strong political plank in the northern platform. Then followed the most sensational event of the decade. The Supreme Court, which had generally maintained the Federal theory of the constitution, decided, after an elaborate argument in the case of 'Dred Scott,' in 1857, that Congress was bound to protect and not to prohibit slavery in the slave-holding states. This decision was received with horror in the north. It stimulated the abolitionists and concentrated their efforts on a change of the law. On the other hand, it showed that the slave-owners were within their legal rights, and confirmed the southern representatives in their aggressive policy.

The great controlling force in favour of Federal policy was not Congress, in which the South generally ruled, but the Supreme Court of the United States, which, from the beginning, had consistently and relentlessly interpreted the constitution in favour of the Federal power. In Mr Carson's bulky but valuable volume we are afforded, in the lives of the chief justices and judges, and in his summaries of the decisions given by the court, a clear idea of the growth of the body of law in favour of the Federal power over the state laws and constitutions. Chief Justice Marshall, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, was the dominant intellectual force in the court during a long lifetime. His decisions as to the power of the Supreme Court to declare null and void any act of the states which was inconsistent with the constitution; his upholding of the paramount authority of treaties; his declaration that the constitution and laws of the United States were supreme notwithstanding anything in a state law, and a whole host of similar decisions, made such a body of positive law in favour of Federal power that there was no legal or constitutional way of avoiding their authority. But they had the effect of embittering

the state feeling as to state sovereignty, and of enabling parties in the states to agitate for the control of the state machinery. Mr Carson summarises forcibly this body of judicial decisions as follows:—

‘He and his associates had considered jointly many of the most important powers of Congress; they had established and sustained the supremacy of the United States, their right as a creditor to priority of payment, their right to institute and protect an incorporated bank, to lay a general and indefinite embargo, to levy taxes, to pre-empt Indian lands, to control the state militia, to promote internal improvements, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states, to establish a uniform rule of naturalisation and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy. They had dealt with a mass of implied powers incidental to the express powers of Congress; they had enforced the constitutional restrictions upon the powers of the states; they had stricken down pretentious efforts to emit bills of credit, to pass *ex post facto* laws, to control or impede the exercise of Federal powers, to impair the obligations of contracts, to tax national agencies, to exercise power over ceded territory, to cripple commerce, and to defy the lawful decrees of the Federal courts. They had faced the frowns of Jefferson and Jackson, and conquered both by invincible logic. They had subjected the ministerial officers of the executive department to the control of the judiciary, and had shivered into atoms the pretensions of Congress to override the Constitution. They had defied the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, both original and appellate, and had sustained against the most stubborn resistance of sovereign states the right of the supreme tribunal to supervise the decrees of state courts when denying a right conferred by the Constitution.’

Against such a body of legal decision as that, it seemed impossible to suppose that any mere force of popular opinion could prevail to the point of rebellion.

Nevertheless in 1860 the streams of tendency which made for Civil War began to unite and swell into a great torrent. When the Democratic party met to nominate a candidate for the presidency they split into three factions, each of which nominated separate aspirants for office. The Republicans met at Chicago. Lincoln was nominated on a platform of anti-slavery in the new territories, and was elected President. The

southern states had been watching for the event, which they took to mean their political extinction. They probably overestimated the significance of it; but with a high degree of passion, in the forms of due deliberation, they proceeded to exercise what they conceived to be their right to secede. The Federals denied the claim, and called it rebellion. The war was fought to decide which were right. The two words, 'secession' and 'rebellion,' are still in use among those who wish to make a distinction between a legal and a treasonable proceeding. It is not necessary for us to enter upon a discussion of the difference between them. Time has, in effect, settled the question. Those who called it rebellion have been generous to those who rebelled. Those who called it secession have submitted to the Federal idea. The question will no longer serve a political purpose.

It is unlikely that the future will ever witness such another outbreak of separatist passion as that which occurred in 1860. Apart from the war which crushed, the constitutional amendments which smothered, and the decisions of the Supreme Court which condemned, that movement, there has grown up in the states themselves a public opinion which renders an appeal to State Rights for any mischievous purpose almost an impossibility. The facility with which amendments may be made in the state constitutions has been exemplified in a remarkable way during the last ten years. Between 1895 and 1903 284 constitutional amendments have been proposed in the various states; and of these 168 have been adopted. The cause of this amending activity is to be sought for in the distrust with which the people regard the state legislatures. The sessions of these bodies have been in many states limited to one in two years; and it has been arranged in Alabama to have a session only once every four years. The tendency to special legislation, to extravagant appropriations, and to submission to the power of corporations and the rule of the 'Boss,' has become so great as to alarm the public. The veto-power of the governors has been strengthened, not only as regards laws, but as regards appropriations. The rise of Grover Cleveland to popularity was largely due to his vigorous exercise of the veto-power in New York; and his exercise of that power as President, especially over

extravagant pension Bills, won him much support. The President has not now the power to veto an item in an appropriation Bill; he must veto the whole Bill or sign it as a whole. The state governors have more power in all but three states, Ohio, North Carolina, and Rhode Island. In 1861-5 the governors saved the Union: they may yet save the public revenues and public morality.

How, out of a situation so desperate and gloomy, rose the tremendous war-power which enabled the United States to subdue the South, preserve the Union, free the slaves, reconstruct the Federation, conciliate the disaffected, and resume once more the burden of the 'too vast orb of its fate,' with an ease which has won the admiration of the world, it is not in our power at present to narrate. The work has been accomplished; and the reunited nation has entered more and more deeply into the affairs of the world at large, by its commercial enterprise, its industrial activity, its recent acquisition of territory in what were once the dominions of Spain. We have shown how the older history has come to be written in terms of a loftier impartiality and good will. We have indicated how the history of its own Civil War has been written with less than the old bitterness. We may confidently assume that its future progress, and the history of that progress when written, will show the United States, in spite of the materialism which to some observers appears so dominant in its existing polity, to be one of the greatest forces of civilisation that the world has ever seen.

Art. V.—POULTRY-KEEPING AS A BUSINESS.

1. *Our Poultry*. By Harrison Weir. Two vols. London : Hutchinson, 1904.
2. *The New Book of Poultry*. By Lewis Wright. London : Cassell, 1902.
3. *Poultry for the Table and Market versus Fancy Fowls*. By W. B. Tegetmeier. London : Cox, 1898.
4. *Poultry-keeping as an Industry for Farmers and Cottagers*. By E. Brown, Secretary of the National Poultry Organisation Society. London : Arnold, 1904.
5. *Poultry Management on a Farm : an Account of Three Year's Work, with Practical Results and Balance-sheets*. By Walter Palmer, M.P. London : Constable, 1902.
6. *Poultry-keeping on Farms and Small Holdings*. By Sir Walter Gilbey. London : Vinton, 1904.
7. *Paying Poultry*. London, May 1902.
8. *Utility Poultry Club Year-book and Register*. Edited by B. W. Horne, 49 Gloucester Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 1904.

THERE is no subject upon which more nonsense has been talked and written than poultry-keeping. Public men in their speeches and public bodies and responsible journals in their equally well-meant attempts to encourage an 'infant industry' have united to prove it true once more that a little learning is a dangerous thing. Undoubtedly, what may be called the great poultry-farm myth owes its origin largely to the impressions made by the printed word. Even the books quoted at the head of this article are not all entirely guiltless of the offence of suggesting that there is money in methods of poultry-keeping which, as a matter of fact, are absolutely impracticable. The inexperienced cannot understand why, if six hens at the bottom of a kitchen-garden yield a profit, six hundred on an establishment wholly devoted to them should not produce a hundred times as much money. It seems incredible that half a dozen birds may answer admirably and six hundred prove ruinous.

The management of poultry looks simple enough. The rations needed are well known and scientifically calculated in cheap books ; the necessary houses are supplied by a number of respectable firms ; the methods of

hatching, rearing, fattening, and preparing for market can be learnt; and the stock is small in size, conveniently handled, comes quickly to maturity, and soon reproduces itself. If the cost of feeding a fowl need be no more than 1½d. a week, and she may lay in a year two hundred eggs—some of which within twelve months will be turned into 'layers,' 'prime chickens,' 'fat capons,' or 'pedigree cockerels'—how can a poultry-farm fail?

Money, it is argued, is being made out of poultry by cottagers and farmers' wives who know nothing of scientific methods, and still believe that eggs set on a Sunday or after sundown will not hatch, that ducks' eggs want an occasional floating in a pail of water in order to incubate properly, and that day-old chicks, if they are to survive, must be given a peppercorn apiece and have the horn on the tip of their beaks pulled off. If this be so, then surely success must wait on educated people who have taken a poultry course under one of the County Council technical education schemes or at an agricultural college, and are acquainted to some extent with Transatlantic methods, especially when they are ready to give all their attention to the business, on land exclusively devoted to poultry, and possess all the incubators, brooding-houses, hatching-boxes, recording-nests, green bone-cutters, corn-kibbling mills, patent cookers, and other paraphernalia of a 'poultry plant.'

When, in answer to this, it is positively declared—as we are able to declare—that poultry-farms do not pay, the invariable rejoinder is that there are hosts of them in existence, that they are to be seen in almost every parish, and that the 'immense business' done by the great American poultry-farms is well known. If there is no money in poultry-keeping, it is asked indignantly, how can all the manufacturers of poultry requisites get a living? how do the poultry papers keep going? and where do the countless advertisers of sittings of eggs and stock-birds obtain the means to carry on their business? What, again, makes possible the organisation of the six or seven hundred poultry-shows which are held in this country in a year—there were between eight and nine thousand birds exhibited at the Alexandra and Crystal Palace shows in November last—and how do the numerous clubs devoted to the interests of various

breeds of poultry continue to exist? Lastly, comes the point that even Cabinet ministers have laboured before rural and London audiences. Surely the fact that Great Britain annually imports nearly 7,000,000*l.* worth of eggs—a large proportion from the other end of Europe, from Canada, and from Morocco and Egypt—to say nothing of 1,200,000*l.* worth of dead poultry, shows that there is an opening for people in this country who have the advantage of producing eggs on the spot.

That there is a future before poultry-keeping in this country we thoroughly believe. The production of eggs and table-poultry, like that of honey, can be immensely extended. But this is possible on certain lines only. Happily the facts of the matter are being increasingly appreciated by the agricultural press and by poultry-keepers themselves. Nevertheless the ignorance that still prevails is lamentably great. The losses which are being made in poultry-farming ventures are so pitiful—some 9000*l.* of savings have lately been dissipated within a short period by men known to the present writer—and the patronage of poultry-keeping by agricultural shows is so largely bestowed in the wrong way, that it is worth while to set out, for the benefit of those in a position to advise would-be poultry-farmers or agriculturists desirous of giving more attention to egg and table-bird production, what are the conditions in which poultry is alone capable of yielding a satisfactory financial return.

As a class, the most profitable hens in this country are the half-dozen kept by a cottager who has at his door a common or field where he is at liberty to let the birds run. The poultry are in robust health and pick up much of their own living; what food is given them consists chiefly of house scraps and garden waste, supplemented sometimes by gleanings. The individual performances of the birds as layers are well known; the best can be bred from; the house in which the poultry roost is a small, roughly-contrived structure on which the owner probably did not spend more than half a crown in cash; and the manure is put to good use in the garden. However little the man or his wife may get for eggs, and for the brood or two of chickens which they raise in a year, there must be a profit.

The next most profitable hens we know of are, first, the half-dozen birds in a reasonably large pen at the bottom of a suburban kitchen-garden, which, again, are under close observation, are largely fed, but not overfed, on house scraps and garden waste, and produce manure of great value for vegetable and fruit-growing; secondly, the poultry kept by a farmer which subsist on what they can pick up in the fields, supplemented by cheap 'off' or 'tail' corn and soft food made of meal ground on the premises or bought under the favourable conditions in which a farmer is able to make such purchases. Rent, labour, straw, carriage of eggs and poultry to the station, and incidentals cost nothing; and the manure is utilised. The amount of revenue which these farm hens will bring in depends on the way in which they have been selected, the time which an interested member of the farmer's family gives to them, the skill brought to their management, the nature of the husbandry on the holding, and the egg and poultry prices ruling in the district. Obviously a farm near Brighton or Bournemouth would do better than one in the Fens.

The least profitable poultry in this country—if, indeed, they are profitable at all—are the birds on what is popularly understood by a poultry-farm. When novices speak of a poultry-farm they usually have in mind a grass field, most of which is divided up into wire-netting pens in which a large quantity of poultry is kept. The owner is supposed by townsmen—but not by his friends or neighbouring farmers, both of whom know better—to make a living by selling eggs, stock-birds, and dead table-poultry. However much one poultry-farm may differ from another in magnitude—in some the acreage is large enough for the birds to be put out in 'colony' houses instead of in pens—there are, in the case of a large number of them, certain common features. The birds are practically hand-fed; that is to say, they are not sufficiently at liberty to gather seeds, insects, and a variety of green-stuff; and all their food, except a little grass, and even their grit, have to be bought. The keeping of such hens involves heavy expenditure, not only on labour and rent, but on wire-netting, scratching-sheds, shelters, straw, carriage, advertising, correspondence, etc., while the return from manure is largely lost, for the grass

of the pens is stimulated to a degree far beyond what is necessary, and there is little or no profitable return from the droppings in the houses.

'But,' says many a would-be poultry-farmer, 'I am content to give my labour.' All the other items of expenditure, however, still confront him; and they are all items in respect of which his neighbour, the farmer's wife, who is his competitor in the market for eggs and table-poultry, and perhaps for stock-birds, has an advantage over him. So far as we know, no trustworthy balance-sheet of a poultry-farm of this class, however heavily capitalised, however written up and photographed, has ever shown profitable working in its fifth, fourth, or even third year.

It may be suggested that the existence of the poultry-farms which are advertising in the poultry press and exhibiting at the shows tends to prove that poultry-farming pays, and that, as a matter of fact, some poultry-farms do pay. We believe that a careful analysis of a list of these establishments would show, in the first place, that the proportion of them which has been in existence for five years, under the same management, is surprisingly small—very much smaller, that is, than would-be poultry-farmers or most poultry-keepers think is the case. One has only to compare the advertisements in an old number of 'Poultry' with those in a recent issue, or to have noted the names of exhibitors at the shows for several years, to realise how poultry-farms and poultry-farmers come and go.

In the second place, a close examination will show that of those few farms which pass the test of five years under the same management, the larger number are not what the general public understands by poultry-farms. Some establishments merely constitute a department of work on an ordinary farm. The farm is called a poultry-farm, though it would be equally correct, somewhat on the same principle, to describe a grocer's shop as a candle-shop. The fact that the shopkeeper keeps the best candles, and manages the purchase, the keeping, and the sale of them on commercial and scientific lines, does not alter the fact that the shop is a grocer's shop. Similarly, the poultry belonging to the enterprises we speak of are living on ordinary farms, not on poultry-farms. In Berk-

shire people, no doubt, speak of the up-to-date poultry-farm of Mr Walter Palmer, M.P., for it possesses incubators, brooding-houses, chicken-cramming arrangements, etc.; but, as will be seen from the title of Mr Palmer's book, he writes, sensibly and correctly, not of poultry-farming, but of 'Poultry Management on a Farm.' Mr Palmer has a poultry manager, as many landowners have; but, in the same way, he no doubt possesses a dairy manager, a stock manager, and a general farm manager, only they are not called by such grand names.

Another form of poultry-farm is that which has the advantage of being run in connexion with an agricultural college, or a county council instruction scheme. It has facilities for disposing of sittings of eggs and stock-birds at favourable rates; the supervision is already paid for; the students provide some of the labour; and there is no need for the work to show a profit. There are also philanthropic organisations which have poultry-farms. In these cases there is much kitchen refuse for food, and also unlimited unpaid labour, while supporters of the institution take, at remunerative prices, a large part of the eggs and poultry which are not consumed on the premises. In other cases the poultry-farm is in the hands of men or women who live with relatives who are farmers, and keep their birds on farm-land on exceedingly favourable conditions. Food is obtained at cost price—in many cases practically for nothing; and incidentals like carriage to and from the station are never debited, while no difficulty is experienced in getting the loan of farm labour.

Sometimes a poultry-farm is an adjunct of an egg-merchant's or higgler's business, or of a manufactory of poultry appliances. There is always a profit in the middleman's work between producer and consumer, while the timber-merchants and carpenters who launch out as makers of poultry-houses and incubators, and have pens of poultry for producing sittings and stock-birds for sale to their customers, are also on sure ground. Another class belongs to poultry-show judges and lecturers, who have many opportunities of introducing business, with profitable results, before returning home after their platform addresses. These gentlemen earn money, too, by buying fowls on commission and taking pupils. Or, again, there is the farm which is managed on genteel

lines by ladies who, owing to their social connexions, are able to dispose of eggs and dead poultry (produced and purchased) at quite exceptional rates; and the farm where milk, fruit, and honey are as carefully attended to by the owner as eggs or table-birds. 'One hand washes the other.' Finally, there are not a few poultry-farms belonging to persons who are content to have a pleasant house in the country and a field or two of their own, who regard their birds as an interesting distraction, and keep no real accounts. As the poultry is debited with neither rent nor labour it may in such circumstances cause no great loss.

The 'New Book of Poultry' naively advises the poultry-farmer to 'find products of some kind which shall find purchasers at more than market rates.' For example:—

'Eggs or stock from really proved layers . . . can be sold with advertising and management; and, if the birds are true to points, they will be worth still more. . . . During recent years quite a demand has grown up for newly-hatched chickens sent off within twenty-four or thirty-six hours of being hatched in incubators . . . with no further risk or cost of food or liability.'

We venture to think however, that the remunerative trade in day-old chicks has almost reached the limits of profitable expansion. As for the eggs or stock, we wish we had space to analyse the pages of advertisements of such goods from ingenuous and struggling poultry-farmers in three weekly papers now before us, and to discuss their chances of effecting business. Poultry-farmers who are endeavouring to make a living by selling eggs or stock to one another are like those islanders of whom it was fabled that they tried to gain a livelihood by taking in each other's washing.

To understand how it is that a few people who are not farmers or cottagers, or the favourably-situated persons whose methods have been outlined above, contrive to make money out of poultry-keeping, and how it is that other folk, who are equally anxious to make it, cannot hope to obtain success without some of their advantages, it is necessary to recall what has happened since the new breeds of poultry began to be introduced into this

country. The owners of these birds, like the owners of the new breeds of goats which are now being kept in England, began to hold exhibitions. Unfortunately, they placed a value on fidelity to type rather than on utility. The birds thought worthy of prizes were those which, in their feathering, in the size of their combs, in the tint of their beaks and their toes, and so forth, most nearly approximated to what was regarded as the ideal standard of their breeds; and the ideal standards were constantly changing. The result was that what was bred for by poultry-keepers was 'perfection in markings.' These are, of course, wholly surface matters, and have nothing whatever to do with laying powers and edible qualities. But handsome was as handsome seemed. Fine feathers made fine birds. What might have been expected happened. Prizes were won by birds which were indifferent layers; from them more prize-winners were bred, often by deplorable interbreeding of related birds; and no one ever enquired if the successful birds were good layers or really useful poultry.

With the rise of this new hobby and the passion for perfection in feathering, 'the fancy,' which found poultry-keeping on its lines profitable, began to invent new breeds. Three quarters of the breeds of poultry now in existence are deliberately invented varieties. The inventor of the black Orpington called into being buff Orpingtons, white Orpingtons, and spangled or Jubilee Orpingtons. Among other varieties there are now brown, white, black, buff, cuckoo, duckwing, and pile Leghorns; silver (that is speckled), buff, buff-laced, partridge, silver-pencilled, blue-laced, and white Wyandottes; and so on. At the last dairy show from fifty to sixty breeds were represented.

There could be no objection to this fancy poultry-breeding as a recreation. It furnished and continues to furnish thousands of working men and suburban and country residents with a harmless hobby; but, when the public was invited to believe that these show strains provided the best poultry for the farmer and the cottager, immense damage was done to the interests of poultry and poultry-keeping in this country. One constantly finds farmers and others who keep poultry for use so impressed by the pretensions of prize-winning strains as to buy ornamental cockerels at a guinea apiece under the

impression that such birds will improve the profitable qualities of their stock.

It should be noted that the shows have almost ruined some exceedingly useful old breeds of fowls. The Langshan, the layer of an egg of a deeper brown than any other variety, was a plump, cobby bird when first brought from China. It is now, through being bred to the arbitrary standard of 'the fancy,' so long in the leg that it finds the show-cages almost too small for it. The old English game-fowl, compact, enormously strong, and laden with breast and leg meat, has degenerated, in the modern show game-bird, into a weedy, long-necked spindle-shanks, with the head and beak of a pigeon. The Brahma and Cochin, which once were relatively clean-legged and useful birds, are now unprofitable creatures, covered from head to toe with an embarrassing mass of feathers that makes existence a misery for them outside a show-pen. The earlobes of the Spanish have been actually doubled in size, and the fine laying powers of the breed extinguished in the process; the valuable, lively, barefaced Houdan has had its top-knot of feathers so increased that the creature has become a piteous object, hardly able to see; while the comb of the Minorca now lies over one side of its head to such a degree that cradles have been invented to sustain it. It is needless to say that, in the breeding for feathers solely, stamina has been as much lost sight of as useful qualities. These show-birds, which are neither layers nor good eating, would probably die if left out for a winter's night in the open.

As not a few people will pay for an article of luxury what they would grudge for an article of necessity, this breeding of show-birds has been, as already indicated, not a little profitable to many who have given attention to it. The acrimony of the controversies carried on in the exhibition poultry press, the wilful maiming of prize-winners at shows by envious exhibitors, and the 'faking' of plumage and other tricks frequently brought to light by the judges, give some hint of the commercial interests at stake. Breeding for the shows is not, however, poultry-farming. Many of the most successful exhibitors have never had more accommodation for their birds than that available in the back-yard or back-garden of a house within the five-mile radius rented at 25*l.* or 35*l.* a year;

nor is much more room requisite. These show-breeders ordinarily specialise in a single breed; and the number of birds they keep is necessarily limited. Few of them live on what they make out of their poultry. The birds are merely the hobby, occasionally the paying hobby, of their leisure hours.

But what the poultry-farmer wants is to make his poultry-farm keep him. The difficulties he would meet with in taking up show-birds are obviously considerable. He would have to begin with the best stock, from a show point of view; and such birds are as costly as they are delicate. Of the minutiae of breeding, of the management of poultry in health and disease—and the ailments of the show-bird are legion—and of the mysteries of preparing stock for show, he is probably ignorant. He would have to spend much money in sending to and attending shows; and the competition of more experienced exhibitors would in most cases prevent any profitable return. By the time our novice was winning his 'second Caterham, third Great Missenden, reserve Nelson'—we quote from advertisements of hopeful vendors of stock-birds in a poultry paper—he would probably begin to doubt, like Sam Weller's charity boy when he got to the end of the alphabet, whether it had really been worth while going through so much to learn so little. Moreover, we are inclined to think that exhibition poultry-keeping has seen its most profitable days. As the keeping of useful poultry makes headway, the artificial and economically unsound branch of the business must fall behind.

Just as there are some few breeders of show-poultry who have followed the hobby for many years, and have made money by it, so there are two or three, and only two or three old hands at poultry-keeping who have succeeded in keeping poultry-farms pure and simple with considerable profit to themselves. We have in mind a widely-respected enthusiast who, starting business about the time when the reaction against show-poultry first began to be felt, bred and sold at a reasonable price birds which, while true to type, were also robust and of a good laying stock. His pens, each a quarter of an acre in extent, are on grass land, and are mown for hay every year. That he is one of the moving spirits of the Utility Poultry Club, has offered a prize for the best

cross-bred layers, and has consistently refused to exhibit or to judge at shows, furnishes a key to the ideas which have inspired him in his enterprise. But even this poultry-farmer sells incubators and takes pupils. So far as we know, the only other successful poultry-farmers, not being also general farmers, whose operations date so far back, have derived at least part of their income from breeding specimens for shows, from exhibiting and judging, from the manufacture and sale of poultry requisites, or from pupils.

If, in making his calculations, the would-be poultry-farmer would only realise that many thousand head of poultry are kept as much for pleasure as for profit, that many thousands more certainly do not pay a dividend on their egg-laying, that poultry-keeping with many people is more of a habit than an industry, and that a large proportion of the dead fowls received at Smithfield every day are of so poor a quality that they cannot be disposed of at a profit to the consigners, he would be saved not a little trouble and loss.

Since the merits of utility poultry have come so much to the fore, not a few poultry-breeders have taken to advertising 'utility with exhibition type,' and similar absurdities concerning their stock. It need hardly be said that it is possible to breed for show-points or for utility-points, but not for both together. The best bird from the point of view of utility is the bird which lays the most eggs, or will produce, when killed, the largest slices off the breast. Between such merits—which have nothing whatever to do with the tints of feathers or of toes—and those club standard points which are held to constitute what is called perfection, a gulf is fixed.

The charge that the keeper of useful poultry wants to turn his fowls into mongrels is nonsense. He recognises that some new breeds and certain old ones, like some surviving strains of the old English game, Langshan, and the present Kent or Sussex fowl—which, until 'the fancy' took it in hand in 1903, had come down to us almost unchanged since the Roman occupation—have such points of excellence that it is eminently desirable that they should be kept pure. It is surely excusable, however, if he should smile at the ardour in the cause of purity exhibited by men who have been directly or

indirectly responsible for the manufacture, by unlimited crossing and mongrelising, of some of the absolutely useless new 'varieties.'

So long as the laying powers of different hens could be estimated only by the rough and ready test that good layers are usually close-feathered, active, intelligent-looking birds, the last to roost and the first to hop down in the morning, there was no trustworthy body of evidence to oppose to the pretensions of 'the fancy' that laying went along with type. By the invention of the trap register or recording-nest, however, every egg can be credited to the hen which laid it. How much a company of hens, believed by their experienced owners to be of equal laying powers, really differ from one another in their rate of egg-production and their commercial value, may be seen by the fact that of 236 pullets tested at an experimental station for a year, five laid from 200 to 208 eggs, while three laid but 36, 37, and 38 respectively. Winter-laying competitions, conducted in England every year by the Utility Poultry Club, prove unmistakably that egg-producing power may be increased by breeding from good layers mated to male birds sprung from a good laying strain. At the first two sixteen-weeks competitions (1897-8 and 1898-9) the winning pens produced an average of only 157 eggs. At the last two competitions (1902-3 and 1903-4) the average was 259 eggs. The club is careful to state that the object of the competitions is not to pick out the best breed of poultry for laying, but the best laying strains irrespective of breed. The correctness of its attitude is illustrated by the fact that only one breed has furnished the winning pen more than once.

Although the high price of winter eggs is alluring to the poultry-keeper, he is no longer bound to take the low prices which prevail in summer for eggs laid at that time of the year. Millions of eggs produced at a season when they would sell at 20 and 22 a shilling are now preserved in water-glass (silicate of soda) until Christmas time. Immense quantities of low-priced eggs, as of low-priced table-poultry, are also kept by merchants in cold storage till the dear time of the year comes round. It is plain that, by avoiding sales at unremunerative prices, no less than by keeping stock bred from good layers. and so

frequently tested as to maintain a high laying average, there are increasing opportunities of making poultry-keeping pay. The testing is clearly important, for a good layer costs no more to keep than a bad one. It is true that egg-preservation is likely in many cases to lead to summer eggs being palmed off in winter as fresh; but that is a risk which the consumer can only learn to avoid by experience.

It hardly needs to be said that well-managed poultry on an ordinary farm will pay well. The 'New Book of Poultry' gives the names and addresses of a number of farmers in one district in the Midlands who are able to report, after many years' experience, that farm poultry, properly handled, bring in a satisfactory return. Every country resident, however, knows agriculturists who say that poultry do not pay. This is because their birds are in-bred, of the wrong types, and of bad laying strains, and are managed on no system, or on an unintelligent one. Birds in large numbers collected about the farm-yard are a nuisance, and are rarely profitable. Farm poultry should be spread over all the area of the holding, in small flocks of a score or two dozen, kept in strong, easily moved, well ventilated, draught-tight, broad-wheeled houses. It is requisite that pains shall be taken to obtain as high a laying average as possible by breeding only from a small company of selected layers; that they shall be hatched at the right time for laying in the late summer, autumn, and winter, when eggs are dearest; and that they shall be of varieties which produce the largest number of eggs or the best table-birds, or combine both advantages, according to the nature of the local demand.

In Kent and Sussex the farmers undoubtedly find that poultry-keeping pays. The south-eastern producer has the great advantage, however, of being served by higglers with capital, who at regular intervals call at the farms and purchase eggs and live birds at a reasonable price. Nevertheless, even in Sussex, things do not wear quite the rosy tints reflected in the poultry-books. In less favoured districts, such as Essex, where the higglers are but a feeble folk, concerned chiefly in the buying up of old hens at cheap rates, to be sold alive in the East-end to the Jews, farmers' wives obtain less

satisfactory results by dealing direct with shopkeepers, private customers, and London factors.

The development of poultry-keeping on farms largely depends on agriculturists recognising that the successful management of poultry, like that of sheep, dairy-cattle, horses, and arable land, calls for knowledge and experience. The farmer has the great advantage of being able to provide much of the food at small expense. Potatoes, swedes, mangolds, and clover play a larger part in the profitable feeding of poultry than is generally understood. The farmer has also constantly small quantities of second-rate or injured grain which can be advantageously utilised, and sometimes, perhaps, dead stock that can be boiled up to supply the animal food which poultry need if they are to do their best, while many incidentals of poultry-keeping cost him nothing that he need take account of. The manure deposited during the day-time on the fields, if the houses are frequently shifted, will also balance any rent that could be fairly charged against poultry, for it is unquestionable that, on arable and grass land alike, hens in reasonable numbers do nothing but good. The manure from the poultry-houses is also profitable. Each bird will drop in the night-time from a quarter to half a hundred-weight in a year; and this manure is valued by the consulting chemist of the Royal Agricultural Society at 2*l.* a ton. Every year, too, enough grain is left on the stubbles to maintain the birds in perfect health and condition for two months. If the farmer keeps pure breeds, and obtains a local reputation as a producer of eggs in the season of the year when they are scarce, he will probably experience little difficulty in selling a fair number of stock-birds; while some eggs, which would otherwise not be worth more than a penny apiece, may fetch from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a dozen for sittings.

By using incubators and a brooding-house, or by buying broody hens and providing shelter for their chickens when hatched, he can, if found desirable, develop the early chicken or duckling trade, which is usually profitable if the birds are properly fatted and trussed and despatched to a good market. This, however, obviously depends, as we have said, not only on the locality, but also on knowledge and experience. Such knowledge may be obtained by sending a son or daughter to a

teaching centre, preferably a farm where poultry have been profitably kept for five years, or an agricultural college course on really practical lines. When the young man or young woman comes home, no large schemes should be indulged in. Mr Palmer, in his third year, valued his houses and appliances at 350*l.*, and his stock at almost the same amount. These are large figures; and, when items in accounts reach such sums, it is easy to get beyond profitable working and to deceive oneself as to the true character of the trading. In the case of Mr Palmer's balance-sheet we are struck by the fact that, of the 229*l.* put down for food, only 44*l.* worth was produced on the farm.

On farms where a doubt is expressed as to the ability of poultry to pay really well, it will usually be found that no attempt was made to produce a first-rate article either in eggs or table-birds. The day when profitable prices could be obtained from Smithfield or Leadenhall Market for second-class stuff has gone with the development of the continental railway service and the establishment of fast and cheap steamship lines. There were imported into this country from abroad, in the year 1903, 2,369,868,000 eggs, and 1,203,086*l.* worth of table-poultry. In other words, most of the eggs and poultry in the shops are foreign; and they are generally satisfactory articles at the price. Not a few housewives who imagine that their poulterers supply them with English birds, are undoubtedly furnished with Russian or other foreign or colonial poultry, not occasionally, but regularly. Nor is it easy to see that John Bull has any just cause of complaint, for this excellent food could not be produced here at the price he is willing to pay for it. There is, however, an opportunity for the British poultry-keeper. To send second-rate produce to market is only to reduce the price of foreign second-rate stuff and his own. But with the geographical advantage which he possesses, and which the foreigner is unable to take from him, he can, if so minded, furnish the market with the best quality of eggs and table-poultry, and make a profit.

An egg is no longer a 'new-laid' egg when more than three days old. It is impossible—though some farmers refuse to believe it—to hoodwink the trade on this subject. The size of the air-space in an egg, as discerned

when it is held before a strong light—the test is called *candling*—is an infallible criterion of age. Now, owing to the distance that foreign eggs have to travel, they cannot be on sale in the grocers' shops before they are roughly about the following ages:—

French (Calais)	3 days.	Styrian	12 or 13 days.
Danish	4 or 6 „	Hungarian	14 or 20 „
Italian	7 or 8 „	Russian	28 to 40 „

Nevertheless the highest priced eggs in the London wholesale market have been on some occasions not English, but French eggs. What is the reason? It is that English eggs, purporting to be of the same age as these best-quality French eggs, are not equally trustworthy, and that the supply is small and irregular.

‘I can recall the names of several firms’ (says Mr Newport, an egg merchant, in ‘Paying Poultry’) ‘who used to work genuine English eggs, but now do not do so. I will guarantee that if I went into the stores of the ten largest brokers in London I should not find an egg of English origin. Why? The answer is, “Unreliable.” People think that all foreign eggs are in a state of incipient rottenness, and that, no matter how old an English egg may be, foreigners are worse. That is decidedly not so. It has got to be quite a large trade to send the best quality foreign eggs out of London to be unpacked, repacked, and returned to London as new-laid. Could this be done if the foreign eggs were rotten?’

As to the small and irregular supplies of English eggs,

‘Is there any man’ (asks Mr Newport) ‘who would undertake to book me a supply, all the year round, of ten thousand genuine English new-laid per week? And yet I could to-morrow morning order ten times ten thousand in each of the following—French, Austrian, Styrian, Russian, Hungarian, Galician, Danish, Italian, and Moroccan; and they would be delivered the following day.’

There is not an egg-broker doing the best class of trade who would not welcome supplies of really genuine English new-laid, especially if the producers of them would club together—as the National Poultry Organisation Society with its depôts is trying to get them to do—so as to be in a position to despatch the goods in as large consignments as possible. There is hardly likely to be

any limit to the demand for years to come. It should be unnecessary to mention that eggs must be clean. Farm eggs are not always clean; and, as egg-shell is porous, a soiled egg is a tainted egg, whatever shopmen may pretend to the contrary. Another requirement of the wholesale trade is that the eggs shall be graded as to size, as foreign eggs are.

At present the number of English farms which set themselves to supply such a simply-obtained article as the new-laid, or not more than three-days-old egg, is regrettably small. As a rule the eggs are collected by a farm lad or labourer, who may put into his basket any find of eggs of uncertain age produced by a hen that has laid away, as well as eggs in the ordinary nests to which hens desirous of sitting may have had access. Now the composition of an egg changes so rapidly under incubation that, when it has been sat on for only twelve hours, the change may be detected by the naked eye on the egg being broken open. The eggs when collected may be kept a week, or—in the hope of prices rising—a fortnight, or even three weeks before being marketed. The result is that thousands of farmers never get from their grocers or the wholesale trade, at the dearest time of year, more than a shilling for eight, while in the summer they have to accept a shilling for a score and sometimes two dozen. And the eggs are certainly not worth more.

What is possible in the production of the best eggs is also possible in the production of the best table-poultry. The best French table-poultry is excellent; but, as the dairy show and the Smithfield show exhibits prove, and the leading West-end poulterers agree in acknowledging, the best English poultry has no cause to fear comparison with it. But the production of the very best table-poultry, reared for fattening and killing at the proper season, and then properly fattened, properly starved, properly killed, properly trussed, properly cooled, and properly packed—all this needs careful learning and planning. Farmers' sons and daughters inclined to make a special study of poultry matters would do well to restrict themselves to producing a small quantity of the best eggs and the best poultry, instead of dreaming of vast schemes and spending large sums on 'poultry-plants.' This alone, as Mr Pickwick said of politics, 'comprises by itself a

difficult study of no inconsiderable magnitude.' Incubators may come in time, and permanent brooding-houses may follow them; but if they are to lead to the production of something less than the very best table-bird and the very best brown egg—as large enterprises have a way of doing, if some American experience goes for anything—they cannot bring with them the financial results which those who invest in them are apt to expect.

The future of poultry-keeping in this country is to the intelligent farmer's intelligent daughter. There may be cases, as at Mr Palmer's farm, where it is profitable to devote the services of a man and a lad to poultry; but the average farmer, hampered as he is by the lack of fluid capital, will not readily contemplate the sinking of 350*l.* in apparatus and as much in stock. He will also be disposed to wait for the balance-sheet of more experiments, and of experiments extending over more than three years, made by tenant-farmers as well as by rich landowners, before he sees his way completely to resigning one of his sons to 'the hens.'

We have used the American phrase 'poultry-plants'; and a word on these enterprises is necessary. There is undoubtedly a great deal of misconception as to the average degree of success which has attended the operations of these establishments in the States. Our public has heard a great deal about the successes, but very little of the failures; and that there have been many big failures cannot be gainsaid. Some of the success which has been attained is due, no doubt, to the immense demand in America for 'broilers,' i.e. fowls sold so small that they could not be marketed in this country. There is also in the States a climate which enables the farmer, not only to crowd his stock indoors, to a degree which would have disastrous results in our milder temperature, but also to feed it heavily on cheap maize, which is regarded here as too fattening, and as creating yellow flesh, appreciated in the States but objectionable in English eyes. It should be added that many of the American 'poultry-plants' which succeed are obviously departments of considerable grain-farms. Without going the length of saying that it is impossible to repeat in this country, over a reasonable period, any of the successes which are said to have been attained by large poultry-plants

in America, it must be plainly stated that such imitative ventures as are being made in this country are experiments only. American experience helps us little, for it has been gained under other conditions. In any case a large capital would be necessary, with perfect knowledge of utility poultry-keeping, and uncommon organising and business ability. Whatever plausible and confident young men from the States may be able to do in committing English capitalists, with little knowledge of profitable poultry-keeping or of the trade in eggs and poultry, to big poultry-plant schemes, these are not enterprises which landowners or landowners' sons, farmers, townsmen turned countrymen with a limited capital, or ladies who have been through a poultry course at Studley Castle or Swanley College, should dream of emulating.

A great deal has been said about the wonders that may be wrought by flocks of two-hundred-egg hens; and we have no intention of suggesting that the limit of profitable egg-production under scientific management has been reached; but it should be remembered that, when all is said and done, hens are only birds and not crates of eggs, and that the leading poultry journal in the States has expressly stated that two-hundred-egg stock is by no means so common or so easily come by in America as is commonly supposed here. The tendency of the owners of big poultry-plants is rather to be content with fair average laying. Thus, as we have argued, it would seem that an English farmer who will keep his stock well in hand, and aim rather at quality than quantity, is likely to do better than another who should involve himself in the maintenance of an immense head of stock which is less good than it might be.

The idea that a big duckling 'ranch' might be profitable here, if chickens did not answer, has caught the fancy of some would-be poultry-farmers; and the well-known docility of the duckling, no less than the ease and speed with which it may be brought to a marketable age, makes the suggestion attractive. But any considerable degree of success depends upon factors the importance of which it is only too easy to underrate. These are, *inter alia*, the large capital, the perfect skill, and the business ability required, and the necessity of getting for the incubators—what it has been found by

experience to be very difficult indeed to get—large quantities of eggs, either by purchase or from flocks of stock-ducks, at regular intervals and of a reasonable degree of fertility. We have unquestionable evidence that the figures which have been given by prominent poultry authorities as to the success of one duck establishment in England are quite inaccurate; and we have never seen any data which incline us to think that the keeping of flocks of ducks is likely to prove more profitable as a single industry than the keeping of hundreds of hens on a poultry-farm.

We have written as we have done under a sense of some responsibility. The ordinary daily paper has not space to deal with the large, complicated, and highly technical subject of poultry-keeping as it needs to be dealt with; and writers in the poultry and agricultural press, however honest, cannot always pretend to occupy an impartial position. Further, not a few of the advertised poultry courses, however excellent they may be in some respects, unquestionably inspire the eager pupils, directly or indirectly, with inflated and unpractical ideas. If we turn from college to poultry-farm courses, there is undoubted evidence that premium-farming is not the least profitable feature of many poultry-farmers' enterprises. If we seem to express ourselves with some severity, it is difficult to see what other manner of writing can properly be adopted when hardly a week passes without the production of sad stories of money lost and hopes of a modest, out-of-door life in the country dashed by poultry ventures which no genuine expert could have countenanced, but for which so-called experts were unmistakably answerable? And this, too, at a time when the change in agricultural conditions and a 'back-to-the-land' movement, which touches the imagination and conscience of more than one class of society, excite a hope that intelligent poultry-keeping may have a large part to play in the development of rural industry and the invigorating of country life.

'HOME-COUNTIES.'

Art. VI.—THE TUDORS AND THE NAVY.

1. *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation.* By Richard Hakluyt. New edition, in twelve volumes. In progress. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1903-4.
 2. *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson.* Vols I and II. Edited for the Navy Records Society by M. Oppenheim. London, 1902-3.
 3. *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy, 1509-1660.* By M. Oppenheim. London: Lane, 1896.
 4. *Drake and the Tudor Navy.* By Julian S. Corbett. London: Longmans, 1897.
 5. *The Successors of Drake.* By Julian S. Corbett. London: Longmans, 1900.
- And other works.

IF there is in the history of England any one feature by which it is distinguished from the history of any other great European country, it is that—civil wars, of course, excluded—the great battles of her history have, almost without exception, been fought on foreign soil. This is not perhaps to be attributed merely to the aggressive tendencies of the nation, nor to the habitual meekness and defencelessness of its neighbours. It is the direct consequence of the geographical fact that Great Britain is an island, and that the international relations of the country, in modern times at any rate, have been those of a distinctively maritime state. Yet, though one might have expected that this aspect of our history would have attracted attention merely because it is peculiar to England, it has been not a little neglected and overlooked by historical students. Except those who have taken naval affairs as their special province, there are but few writers who have adequately appreciated this side of our history; and one might read many a history of England without discovering the paramount importance of the navy to England, or learning what an influence it has had, not only in the age of Nelson and the age of Drake, but at all other times, during at least the four last centuries, in shaping the destinies of this country.

But if our naval history is not as familiar as it ought
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to be, it is not for want of facilities for its study. The list at the head of this article is some indication of the excellent work which has been done and is being done on a portion of the great field of naval history, other quarters of which have not been neglected. The works published by the Navy Records Society deserve special mention. In the ten years of its existence the Society has made itself absolutely indispensable, and has done most admirable service; not only has it published and made accessible materials of great value and interest, but by the fact of its existence it supplies a stimulus to the study of naval history. The volumes it has issued, now nearly thirty in number, cover a great variety of subjects. Some of them, as for example Mr Leyland's volumes on the 'Blockade of Brest,' and Admiral Sturges Jackson's on the 'Great Sea-fights, 1794-1805,' deal with topics of the greatest tactical importance; others, like the 'Journal of Rear-Admiral James,' a diary touching the less important sides of the American War, are interesting as illustrating the more ordinary work of the navy. It is much to be hoped that the Society will receive such an increase of public support as may enable it to enlarge its present somewhat restricted output. Meanwhile, one cannot quit the subject of naval history and the Navy Records Society without mentioning the name of its indefatigable secretary, Professor Laughton, who has had a considerable share in making the Society a success, and has done good service in the cause of naval history for many years. The naval biographies in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' which amount to over a volume of that great work, are almost without exception from his pen, and constitute one of the most remarkable and successful features of the Dictionary. Students of naval history owe him no small debt of gratitude.

The complaint that the English nation is, as a whole, ignorant of and indifferent to that branch of its history which is so specially its own, is, we are afraid, anything but a novelty. If we go back three hundred years to the 'Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Francis Walsingham,' which Hakluyt prefixed to his great collection, we find much the same story. In that dedication Hakluyt relates how, 'not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the

world the industrious labours and painefull travels of our countrymen,' he 'determined to undertake the burden of that worke' himself 'for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers.' Love of his country and love for the science of 'cosmographie' were the motives which impelled him to bestow on this work 'so many yeres, so much travaile and cost,' in order to 'preserve from the greedy and devouring jawes of oblivion certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved.* There is something exceedingly graphic about his account of how he, a Westminster schoolboy visiting his cousin in the Middle Temple, was first introduced to the 'delights and wonders' of cosmography, and how he thereupon formed the resolution, which afterwards, when a student of Christ Church, he found time to put into execution, 'to prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof were so happily opened before me.'

The work in which Hakluyt has embodied the result of his researches is a veritable English epic of the sea, and one of the most fascinating records of our history. The publication of an adequate modern edition, such as that now being produced by Messrs Maclehose, is very welcome. Indeed it is high time that 'The Principall Navigations' were made more accessible to book-buyers and readers than it has hitherto been. The two old editions of 1589 and 1598-1600 are exceedingly rare, and neither of the so-called 'modern editions' (1809 and 1884) is at all satisfactory; so that one is very glad to have one which is in every respect worthy of so notable a work. Eleven of the twelve volumes of which the new edition will consist have already appeared. They are copiously furnished with illustrations, maps, and charts of great interest. The volume still to be published will contain an introduction on the life and works of Hakluyt by Professor Walter Raleigh, who may be trusted to do the 'Preacher' and his book full justice. The volumes are handsome, well-printed, and light. There are hardly any notes; and we, for our part, do not miss them. Hakluyt should be read in the arm-chair, not at the study-table.

Froude described the 'Principall Navigations' as 'an

* Cf. preface to the second edition, 1598.

invaluable treasure of material for the history of geography, discovery and colonisation.' But it is even more remarkable as evidence of the spirit of the times. It would not be too much to say that its main interest lies not so much in the material collected, some of which a critical examination would certainly discredit as historical evidence, but in the fact that such a collection should have been made. Hakluyt's great work is characteristic of the way in which the age of discovery had widened men's eyes and minds to a new geography, and to the new ideas which could not fail to follow upon revelations so sweeping as those involved in the discoveries of Columbus and his contemporaries. His zeal for knowledge, and his desire to see justice done to the exploits of his countrymen, are typical of that movement towards expansion which was the keynote to 'the spacious times of Great Elizabeth.' It was a movement with many sides; and its influence may be traced in the writings as well as in the exploits of the day. It inspired in different ways Drake and Shakespeare, Spenser and Essex; and it makes Raleigh, man of action and man of letters at once, in some ways the most typical of the Elizabethans. That there was a sordid as well as a romantic side to the movement and to the period is not to be denied. Much of the glamour which in the popular conception invests the Court of Elizabeth must be swept away on a closer acquaintance with the intrigues and quarrels, which were not confined to the Court only, but exercised a baneful influence over the navy and the public service. Nor were the heroes of the Elizabethan age by any means the demigods of chivalry that fancy paints them; they were very human, and very susceptible to base as well as to noble motives. But, taken as a whole and compared with other periods, the age is one in which the better elements outweigh the inferior; and popular feeling is substantially right in picturing Elizabeth's reign as one of the great periods of English history.

To students of naval history the Tudor period is of special importance since with it the distinctively maritime character becomes more strongly marked, becomes indeed more than ever before the characteristic feature

of the country's history. While the majority of historians agree in regarding the accession of the Tudors as the dividing line between the medieval and the modern ages, it is not a little surprising that, among the many and various arguments by which the choice is justified, this great maritime development should be so seldom put forward. Yet when Henry VII 'dared to be insular' and set aside the idea of reviving the traditional struggle for the French dominions his predecessors had lost, he took a step of supreme importance to England. He went far towards committing the country to a career of maritime greatness and giving a naval bias to our history.

One may attribute to the Tudor period the establishment of the definitely maritime character of English history without ignoring or undervaluing the importance of the naval side of medieval England. English kings had possessed ships, had fought naval battles, and had practised, even if they had not preached, the employment of 'sea-power' long before the seventh Henry began that systematic development of the naval strength of the nation which has gone on ever since. But there is one feature which differentiates the naval development of the Tudors from the efforts of previous rulers, and thereby fixes its character; it possessed that element of continuity and permanence which had been lacking to their spasmodic endeavours. Henry's measures differed but little from those of his predecessors. The breach with the past is hardly perceptible, certainly not in his reign. Neither for him nor for his son can it be claimed that they created an altogether new force, or that the development of the maritime side of English national life was due solely to their initiative and would not have come without them. 'The Debate between the Heralds of England and France,' written probably between 1450 and 1471, affords proof of the steady growth of the English merchant marine even at a time when the war-navy hardly existed. In it the English herald claims that England is 'more richly and amply provided at sea with fine and powerful ships than any other nation in Christendom, so that they are kings of the sea, since none can resist them.' English commerce had had its ups and downs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but on the whole its tendencies had been progressive. Ships

were growing larger, more seaworthy, more capable of keeping the sea continuously. The art of navigation was developing. Voyages were growing longer, seamen more skilful and adventurous. Indications were not wanting that England's future was to be upon the seas.

This maritime bias was of course the result of geographical and economic conditions which had been operative for some time, rather than of any conscious efforts on the part of the rulers of the country; but the work and the glory of the Tudor sovereigns was to recognise, guide, and materially assist this development. Their best claim to be regarded as the founders of the Royal Navy lies in the fact that to them we owe the establishment, as an essential part of the administrative machinery of the kingdom, of that germ from which the modern Board of Admiralty has been developed. From Henry VII's reign dates the continuous, systematic care for the naval strength of the kingdom which differentiates his age, on the naval side, from that of monarchs who, like Edward III and Henry V, may have put forward greater strength at sea, but who failed to secure permanence or continuity. That Henry V thoroughly appreciated the importance of sea-power is not to be denied. Politically and strategically alike he was fully alive to it, and he used his fleet in support of his invasions of France with a fuller perception of its potentialities than ever Napoleon's naval strategy displayed. Still his premature death deprived him of the honour of being the true founder of the British Navy. In March 1423 the Council of Regency gave instructions for the sale of the late king's ships, and entrusted the naval defence of the realm to certain private persons, who contracted to provide a fixed number of ships and men to discharge the duty of policing the seas. Thus the strong fleet which Henry V had built up, and which he had used to such good purpose, ceased to exist. In face of such a breach of continuity it is impossible to date the distinctively naval era in our history from the reign of Henry V.

The absence of continuity between the navy of Henry V and that of the Tudors is, however, not the sole justification for taking the Tudor period as the true beginning of the maritime phase in England's career. A permanent navy, much more a properly organised

naval administration, can only exist in a state somewhat far advanced on the paths of political development; and it is one of the characteristics of the Tudor period that it saw a vast increase in the functions and activity of the executive government. The breakdown of the old feudal machinery of government thrust the task of governing the country upon the Crown and the institutions through which the monarch worked. The strong shoulders of the Tudors were able to bear the burden and to thrive under it. England had had strong rulers before the Tudors, but now for the first time she possessed a strong and a centralised administrative machinery on something like modern lines. Obsolete institutions and methods gave place to new. A national system replaced a local. The creation of a naval department by the establishment of the Navy Board in 1546 was only part and parcel of the general trend of events, but it marks an important date in our history.* Since that day there have been periods of depression and of expansion in naval affairs, hot fits and cold fits; at times the navy has suffered from neglect or ill-advised retrenchment; at other times so-called 'naval scares' have caused wild excitement and lavish if not always judicious expenditure; but the navy has never ceased to exist.

Moreover, the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century saw not only those great discoveries which entirely changed the face of the then known world, but also not less important if less generally known changes in naval architecture and in the nature of the sailing-ship. These changes Mr Corbett has lucidly described in the brilliant introductory chapter to his 'Drake and the Tudor Navy.' Until the science of shipbuilding had reached the point at which it could produce a vessel capable not merely of ocean-going but of ocean-keeping, maritime development and transoceanic exploration were hampered by serious physical limitations. To develop such a vessel out of the craft which ruled the Mediterranean—the galley, the oared 'long ship'—was impossible. Vessels which relied upon human labour for their means of propulsion could not be very large. The seaworthiness, habitability,

* Cf. Oppenheim, 'Administration of the Royal Navy,' pp. 85, 86.

and storage capacity needed to enable a vessel to undertake distant voyages or to keep the sea for long periods could only be gained by increasing the size; but, in the galley, every such increase necessitated a corresponding increase in the crew, already disproportionately large. Thus the Mediterranean Powers who put their trust in the galley were confined to the seas in which the galley could live; and it was not till the nations which bordered on the Atlantic evolved an ocean-keeping vessel out of the 'round ship' that the secret of the unknown West could be made the common property of Europe. So too it was impossible to exert systematically the influence of sea-power before the ocean-keeping warship, the practical embodiment of sea-power, had come into existence. The command of the sea could only be exercised by vessels capable of maintaining their position at sea continuously. St Vincent and Cornwallis could not have held Brest in the iron grip of their unceasing watchfulness had their ships been galleys unable to ride out an Atlantic storm. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable feature of Blake's blockades of Lisbon and of Cadiz is that he maintained them with ships whose sea-keeping capacities were still in a somewhat rudimentary stage of development.

The establishment of Henry VIII's reputation as a naval organiser is one of the most notable features of Mr Oppenheim's 'History of the Administration of the Royal Navy,' a work which bristles with statistics somewhat alarming to the less pertinacious reader, but contains, nevertheless, some excellent reading and an extraordinary amount of valuable information. Mr Oppenheim has no difficulty in showing that in respect of naval administration, at any rate, Henry's reputation must stand high. Taking advantage of the national bias towards maritime expansion which his father's wise policy had fostered and encouraged, he built up, on the comparatively modest foundations his father had laid, both the fleet and the administration which stood England in such good stead in the days of Elizabeth's struggle with Spain. Much of the credit which has, somewhat undeservedly, been given to Elizabeth, belongs by right to her father. His achievements in this department have perhaps attracted less than their due share of

attention, because adequate opportunities for the use of the weapon he had forged were denied to him. Nevertheless his fleet was not without influence on the foreign relations of the country in the reign of its constructor; and Charles V's desire to secure possession of the one efficient ocean-going navy in Europe prompted in some measure the marriage of Philip to the eldest daughter of Henry VIII. Still it was Elizabeth's war with Spain which first afforded an opportunity for the use of Henry's fleet on a systematic and continuous scale. For it should not be forgotten that 'in number, in organisation, and in armament, Henry fashioned the navy with which Elizabeth fought Spain.*' The 'Admiralty department, which enabled Elizabeth to send fleets to sea with a quickness and efficiency far greater than that of her unwieldy antagonist,' was Henry's creation. 'If Drake was able to go to the coast of Spain and to the West Indies, it was because Henry had organised the system, the dockyards, and the magazines,' which rendered it possible to carry on systematic operations afar off.

Moreover, Henry was largely responsible for another, perhaps an even greater, revolution in naval affairs. Mr Corbett has conclusively shown how great a change in naval tactics was that which the English introduced in the course of the sixteenth century. The warship, hitherto a mere floating fortress, a vehicle for the transport of soldiers, the platform on which hand-to-hand land-battles were fought at sea, became itself the tactical unit, 'a mobile gun-carriage,' relying entirely on the fire-power of its armament. The English tactics of relying on the missile action of their artillery at long range and thereby avoiding the close-quarter fighting, in which Spanish numbers were bound to tell, were determined by the capacities of their vessels and by the character of the armament they carried. In both these respects—the development of a handy, mobile, seaworthy vessel out of the old 'round ship,' and a sweeping revolution in armaments—a radical change had been brought about, for which Henry himself deserves at any rate some share of credit. For the multitude of pieces devoid of penetrative

* Cf. Oppenheim's introduction to Monson's 'Naval Tracts' (Naval Records Society), i, 5.

power, and more akin to the musket than to the cannon, which all warships had till then carried, Henry substituted heavy pieces ranging from the 'cannon' of 60 pounds and the 'demi-cannon' of 30, to the 18-pounder 'culverin' and 9-pounder 'demi-culverin.' These guns, effective at a range at which the lighter weapons they displaced were quite useless, were capable of deciding the result of an action by destroying the hostile fleet.

A new era in naval tactics was thus opened. Indeed it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the change was as momentous as the revolution in armaments which the last century has seen. To all intents and purposes, the guns with which Henry armed his men-of-war were the guns with which Nelson won Trafalgar. The fate of the Spanish Armada illustrates very clearly the results of the revolution. Spain, dominated by the traditions of the galley and its tactics, made no attempt to follow the English in their change of armament, but continued to put her trust in boarding and in the superiority of her soldiers at close quarters. Indeed the Spaniards held the cannon to be 'but an ignoble arm, well enough for the beginning of the fray, and to pass the time till the moment of engaging hand to hand.'* The utter inability of the Armada to inflict anything like serious damage on Howard's fleet is to be partly attributed to the superior mobility and handiness of the English ships, which enabled them to choose how and on what conditions action should be joined; but the overwhelming superiority of the English guns and gunnery had a predominant share in bringing about the result.

Those who have, without due knowledge of the facts, credited Elizabeth with the creation of the navy with which the Armada was met and conquered, will receive rather a shock if they study the works of Mr Corbett and Mr Oppenheim. It is impossible here to go into the details of the ships built by Elizabeth and by her father; but, when one finds that at the death of Henry VIII the navy included twenty-eight ships of 100 tons and upwards, that being the standard which may be taken as denoting the effective fighting unit of 1547, it is surprising to find

* Cf. Duro, 'Armada Invencible,' I, 77.

that in 1603 the vessels of this class numbered only twenty-nine.* In thirty-seven years Henry, in one way and another, added eighty-five vessels to the navy; Elizabeth, in a reign longer by eight years, added ten less, even when all prizes, small craft of every kind, and even rebuilt ships, are included. The more closely the nature of the vessels built and the circumstances in which they were constructed are investigated, the more impossible it becomes to resist Mr Oppenheim's conclusion that 'the queen never realised the potency of a fleet in foreign politics.' Had Elizabeth ever grasped the elements of the problem of national defence and offence for an island state; had she even dimly realised that it was her fleet which was the true guarantee for the security and independence of her kingdom, that it and it alone lent weight to the diplomatic adroitness by which she set so much store; had she ever understood that in war decisive results can only be obtained by those who are prepared to employ adequate force, the naval accounts would surely tell a different story than that of occasional bursts of energetic construction breaking the monotony of languor and neglect. No doubt money was always scanty in Elizabeth's exchequer; but, if Mary could allot 12,000*l.* a year to the navy,† it was not necessary for Elizabeth to reduce her usual expenditure on the fleet to half that sum. Of a systematic preparation of naval strength, of the steady increase of the fleet by a well thought-out scheme of shipbuilding, in order that in a crisis the national defences might not be found wanting, there is not a trace in the queen's policy. If in 1585, when the unofficially encouraged privateering gave place to official operations, the national resources were better fitted for a war than they had been in 1558, the sole credit which the queen deserves—though this, as Sir John Seeley has shown, is no small one—is that her shifty and kaleidoscopic diplomacy had given her subjects time to prepare by putting off the moment of decision.

In 1558 England was not ready to fight Spain for the freedom of the Indies and for the Protestant religion; and Elizabeth saw this clearly. Her great service was

* It is worth mentioning that during the reign of Elizabeth only two navy ships were lost to the enemy.

† Monson's Tracts (N.R.S.), i, 8.

that she gave the country time to make up its mind that the Indies were worth a contest, and that the Protestant religion was the creed for Englishmen. Time was needed for the decision; and in 1558 a policy of delay, of evading a premature decision, of subterfuges like disowning Drake when to acknowledge him would have been inconvenient, was the right policy. But delay was only a means, not an end in itself; and Elizabeth, even if she had originally appreciated the true reason for seeking to gain time, had quite lost sight of it by 1585. In her mind mere delay for its own sake had usurped the position of the end. She quite failed to see that the contest could not go on being put off indefinitely, that Philip had at last perceived that he could not conquer the Netherlands save on English soil, and that therefore further delay in taking decisive action would be perilous and not beneficial. Time had been gained; the country had come to its decision and was ready to act upon it; but irresolution had taken too firm a hold on Elizabeth, and she lagged behind. She could not grasp the fact that the altered circumstances called for new and more vigorous methods. So it came about that the war with Spain, which might have been brought to a glorious and successful issue by three or four vigorous campaigns, lingered on until its lame and impotent conclusion in 1604.

We cannot here review again the campaign of 1588 by the light of the two volumes on the Armada, edited by Professor Laughton, with which the Navy Records Society opened its career. Mr Corbett's spirited account of that campaign in 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' and Mr Oppenheim's copious and illuminating annotation of Monson's narrative, show that the queen must bear the main share of responsibility for the failure to complete the destruction so well begun by Howard and Drake off Gravelines. Her overweening confidence in her own diplomatic skill played into the hands of Parma and Philip; her inability to grasp the strategical issues went near to fatally wrecking her admirals' plan of campaign; and her misplaced and untimely economy was the main cause of the deficiencies in victuals and in ammunition.*

* Mr Corbett and Mr Oppenheim disagree with Professor Laughton, who, in his introduction to the Armada papers, extenuates the queen's shortcomings in this respect,

The questions to be examined here are those connected with the later stages of the war, which, coming between the point where Froude stops and that at which Gardiner begins, form one of the periods in our history which are least known to the average reader. Mr Corbett, in the closing chapters of 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' and in his equally brilliant and fascinating volume on the 'Successors of Drake,' has explored this unknown country to good purpose; and Mr Oppenheim's edition of Monson's Tracts is a not less valuable contribution to the study of it. This edition is a remarkable piece of work. The general introduction gives a good account of the author and his works; the introduction to Book I of the Tracts is in itself an interesting and suggestive survey of the period; and each section of Monson's narrative is subjected to a comprehensive and critical commentary. The only criticism that may be urged is that the author is rather overpowered by the commentator, and that the volumes are a little out of keeping with the rest of the publications of the Navy Records Society, whose editors have, as a rule, given less of themselves and more of their authors. But Mr Oppenheim gives good reasons for the copiousness of his commentary; and its interest is such as to justify the course he has chosen.

The Elizabethan struggle with Spain may be viewed from two aspects, as a defensive war and as a contest for the West Indies and America. As a defensive struggle it was, we know, entirely successful. Whatever one's opinion as to its success from another point of view, no one can deny that England kept 'her faith, her dynasty, and her territory inviolate; and the enemy that once had threatened all three so gravely could never again of her own strength lift a finger against them.' The Armada may be regarded—as Mr Corbett tells us its conquerors regarded it—as the first effort of the ocean-going navy of Spain; we may consider it, with Mr Oppenheim, the end of Spain's naval greatness; in any case it was a striking and expensive failure, and showed that, until Philip possessed a fleet capable of contending on equal terms with Elizabeth's for the command of the sea, the invasion of England by Parma and his army was impracticable. But it would be a very one-sided view which looked at the war merely on its defensive side. In

war no defence can be efficient or final which does not include a counter-offensive.

It is, or perhaps should be, a platitude that the best defence is that which inflicts so much damage on one's enemy that he is left without the power of renewing his attack. The defeat of the Armada was a negative victory. The Spanish effort failed in 1588; but, except in so far as her losses in men, ships, and equipment diminished the resources of Spain, the repulse of the Armada of 1588 did not preclude the possibility of the renewal of the attempt in another year by another fleet. A satisfactory peace could only be procured by successes of a more positive kind, by following up the repulse of the Armada so effectually and prosecuting the war so vigorously that Spain's power to trouble England should be destroyed. That such a policy would have been more effective than Elizabeth's plan of 'doing all things by halves,' as Raleigh described it, is obvious enough to those who can study the war as a whole and can trace its effects on the subsequent fortunes of the combatants. But it must not be supposed that it is only Mr Corbett and Mr Oppenheim who have seen clearly that the policy—to call it 'strategy'—were an abuse of words—of Elizabeth was not only ineffective but wasteful, and the antithesis of true economy. Her admirals saw the truth, only to preach it in vain to her unheeding ears; and the blame of the failure to follow up the success of 1588—for failure it must be pronounced when the chances of the situation are examined—lies only at her door. The lesson of the years between 1589 and 1603 is not that it was out of the power of England to win a decisive success over Spain, not that the policy Drake advocated of striking direct at Spain and utilising the disaffection of Portugal was unsound and bound to fail, nor that the alternative policy urged by Hawkins, of striking at Spain through the 'flotas'—the annual fleets which brought the treasures of the New World to replenish Philip's depleted exchequer—might not equally and perhaps more cheaply have achieved the end in view. It is simply the old lesson that, whatever line of action is adopted, it should not be discarded until it has had a fair trial; and that, as a rule, an indifferent plan well executed is far more likely to achieve success than a better plan carried out in a slovenly manner and

with insufficient forces. Elizabeth failed because she approached strategical questions from a false standpoint, because she thought it more important to keep down expenses than to obtain a return for her outlay, and therefore subordinated the questions which should have been first, of the strategical objects to be sought and the best means of attaining them, to the secondary question—undoubtedly important, but nevertheless secondary—of cutting down expenditure. Hence she adopted first one plan and then another, only to shrink from the logical consequences directly it appeared that their execution on an adequate scale would prove 'chargeable.'

Thus, in 1589, Drake's 'Counter-Armada' was tried. If regard is had to what the Armada achieved, it was by no means unsuccessful; at any rate it was a striking demonstration of Spain's incapacity and helplessness. Still, financially—and this was the aspect in which Elizabeth manifested most interest—it was far from paying its way; the loss of life it involved was very heavy; and the hopes which had been founded on the expected co-operation of the Portuguese were not realised. The expedition, therefore, returned without achieving its principal object. But, failure though it was, even Mr Oppenheim, who criticises the commanders severely and endorses William Fenner's verdict that the voyage was 'a miserable action,' calls it 'a failure and not a defeat, a failure due not to Spanish skill or prowess, but to English faults and deficiencies'; and he points out that, 'whatever the mistakes of Norreys and Drake, they shrink into insignificance beside the initial blunders of Elizabeth.' Mr Corbett, less disposed to throw the blame on the commanders, is even more severe on the queen. It is clear that the expedition was originally planned on the considerable scale required, and that the force eventually sent was only a fraction of that contemplated by its promoters, although no corresponding reduction was made in the tasks assigned to it. Further, the commanders were not given a free hand: they were hampered by instructions which display all Elizabeth's habitual lack of strategical insight, and are obscure and confusing beyond even the average of her orders. Monson's conclusion that 'the

action was overthrown before their setting out from home,' is not to be easily set aside.

To some extent the cause of the failure may be said to have been beyond Elizabeth's power to control. The reason why England could not properly follow up her defensive successes, when she in her turn undertook the counter-offensive, was that her military organisation was quite unfitted for the task of completing the work which the navy had begun but which it could not hope to finish. Mr Corbett utters no paradox when he lays down the axiom that 'the true importance of maritime power is its influence on military operations.' The sphere of action of fleets is limited by insurmountable physical conditions; and unless an army is ready to take up the work of the fleet where those physical limitations intervene, no final, no vital, no decisive blow can be struck. In the case of an insular power, a navy can ward off attacks and prevent invasions, but it cannot unaided achieve more than negative results. The moral is one which some extreme advocates of the so-called 'Blue-water school' would do well to take into consideration. The army and the navy need each other to perform those portions of their joint task of national defence which they cannot separately undertake. Few conclusions are more forcibly impressed on one by a study of the Elizabethan war against Spain; and it is interesting to learn from Mr Corbett that Essex had to some extent grasped this most important truth. Mr Corbett takes a more favourable view of Essex than is taken by Mr Oppenheim, or, indeed, by most writers on the period; but, even if ambition had some share in Essex's anxiety to see the military organisation of the country put on an efficient footing—with himself, no doubt, at its head—he deserves the credit of having seen the weak spot in England's armour which had escaped the notice of most of his contemporaries. The most competent living historian of our army* considers that Elizabeth missed a great opportunity. She might have reformed the military institutions of the country, brought them into line with the great advance then being made on the Continent, and called the army into existence without the political

* The Hon. J. W. Fortescue in his 'History of the British Army,' i, 130.

prejudice against it associated with its establishment by Charles II. However this may be, England remained without an efficient military organisation throughout Elizabeth's reign; and it was mainly from that cause that her counter-offensive against Spain failed.

In like manner, the real reason why the alternative policy—that of striking at Spain through the flotas—produced unsatisfactory results was that it was never given a fair trial. Mr Oppenheim makes a great deal of this policy, and he has devoted an interesting appendix to the Plate fleets, dealing with their routes, their composition, the regulations affecting their sailing, and similar matters. He would seem to be a strong adherent of what he calls 'the Flota policy,' and his severest censure is showered on Elizabeth for neglecting the chance of striking Spain through this the most vulnerable point in all Philip's unwieldy empire. But we must admit that we find Mr Oppenheim's arguments on this point somewhat hard to reconcile with one another. At one time* he points out how essential the flotas were to Spain, and how vital a blow would have been struck at Philip's power had the control of the flota track passed into English hands. The treasure which the flota carried he describes as

'the base on which rested Spanish political dominion and capacity for conquest. . . . Spain's pretensions to world power were supported entirely by it, for without the treasure imports . . . Spain's own resources would not have sufficed to hold the empire together. . . . Therefore the flota track had to be as essentially Spanish territory as the environs of Madrid, and its closure by a hostile force would be . . . equivalent to a blockade of the mother-country and the colonies, and the disbandment of the armies, which could not be kept on foot without the gold and silver brought over.'

Accordingly, when he writes that 'a victorious English fleet, controlling the flota communications, struck at the heart of the whole empire,' it is no misrepresentation to claim him as an advocate of this policy. Yet when, a few pages farther on,† he discusses Drake's proposal to occupy Havana for the very purpose of obtaining control of the flota track, he condemns the occupation of

* Monson's Tracts, i, 27.

† Ib. i, 34, 35.

an important point on the track because it would have 'roused all the energies of the empire' and 'challenged Philip to a life-and-death struggle.' But an English fleet controlling the flota communications would surely have had the same effect, and would no less have brought to the threatened spot all the strength of which Philip could dispose.

In Mr Oppenheim's objections to the occupation of a place in the West Indies* there is much force. With the fate of the garrison of Havre before one's eyes, it is easy to picture how a force endeavouring to hold Puerto Rico or Cartagena, or even one of the Azores, would have fared for reliefs, reinforcements, and supplies, with Elizabeth controlling the outgoings from the exchequer. This really condemns Elizabeth and her execution of any strategy rather than proves the plan, as a plan, apart from its execution, to have been defective and unpromising. We fail to see how an English fleet could securely control the flota communications unless it had previously defeated the supreme effort to which the attack on so vital a point would, on Mr Oppenheim's own showing, have aroused all Philip's energies. Surely Mr Oppenheim admits as much when he qualifies the fleet as 'victorious'? Indeed we cannot understand where the plan of cutting the flota communications by a military occupation—which presupposes naval support and co-operation—of Havana or of Angra in the Azores differs from that of doing so with a fleet using one of the less important because less convenient islands as a temporary base. The only argument that suggests itself is that, if money had had to be found to equip the military portion of the expedition, it would probably have been provided at the expense of the naval element, in which case the latter might have been so stinted as to be too weak to defeat the Spaniards and secure the control of the flota route. This is no doubt possible, with Elizabeth in control of the purse-strings; but, when one is arguing about what in theory should have been done, one may fairly set aside the conditions which in fact prevented the adoption of a sound strategy. Had Elizabeth been able to appreciate and adopt a consistent system of attacking Spain, she would probably have

* Monson's Tracts, I, 36.

been able to see the wisdom and prudence of adequate expenditure.

In fact, Mr Oppenheim has not been quite consistent either in his argument or in the view he takes of the power of Spain. The general trend of his argument is to condemn Elizabeth for her half-and-half policy, for her failure to make a sufficiently vigorous effort, for letting the war drag on indecisively. Yet, when condemning the policy of territorial attack or of occupying a strategic point on the flota route, he speaks as if a life-and-death struggle with Philip were something beyond the power of England to undertake, something she ought to have avoided. At times Mr Oppenheim seems to think Spain the colossus she was to Elizabeth and to many of Elizabeth's contemporaries; at other times he has eyes for nothing but the feet of clay on which the image rested so insecurely. If Spain was really as weak and as exhausted as Mr Oppenheim would generally have us believe, the effort to recapture Havana or Angra would probably have brought her to the end of her resources long before the strain of the occupation had brought Elizabeth to bankruptcy or England to revolt.

Of these alternative lines of policy Elizabeth, on the whole, preferred that of attacking the flotas. Its chief recommendations in her eyes were that it was cheaper, less risky, and, if successful, more immediately lucrative. The tangible gold and silver which the flotas carried had as great an attraction for Elizabeth as for the greediest privateersman among her subjects. But not even her desire to see the wealth of the Indies brought home to Plymouth could induce her to make the sustained and systematic efforts which alone could ensure the capture of the coveted prize. She sent out inadequate forces and trusted to good fortune to do the rest. There would have been no need for Lord Thomas Howard to leave the 'Revenge' to its fate if the fifteen 'capital ships'* which spent 1591 'keeping Chatham Church' in idleness had been in commission, as they should have been, and at the Azores. Leveson met a flota in 1602 only to find his meagre squadron so weak that he could not risk an

* Men-of-war of 300 tons and over, the standard fighting ships in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.

action. The policy of purely naval attack may or may not have been the best that could be devised. The story of the famous 'Islands voyage' of 1597 rather suggests that even a really strong squadron would have been more efficient had it had with it enough troops to capture the batteries which protected the harbours in which the flota found safety from Essex and Raleigh. Still it is clear that the error lay not in the policy, nor with the commanders, who, on the whole, did fairly well with the forces at their disposal, but at the door of those who settled the strength of the force.

Such parsimony not unnaturally tends to defeat its own ends; and Elizabeth, who never seems to have realised that a lavish and timely outlay would be economical in the long run, must before her death have spent several times the sum which might have sufficed to secure decisive success. The heavy and, for the most part, futile expenditure on the West Indian expedition of 1594-95, on the Cadiz expedition of 1596, on the Islands voyage, and on the mobilisation of 1599, might have been averted if she had turned to proper account the repulse of the Armada. Her failure to strike hard enough in 1589, her neglect to do anything in 1590 which can be dignified with the name of 'striking,' gave Spain a much-needed breathing-space, time in which to recuperate, to fortify the West Indian and Atlantic harbours, and to build up a navy. It was from this new war-navy of Spain that Lord Thomas Howard had to fly so ignominiously from Flores in the Azores; it was partly because the West Indian ports had been fortified and prepared against attack that the last great venture of Drake and Hawkins proved so disappointing a failure;* and, if the work begun in 1588 had been properly finished, Philip would never have been able to throw troops and munitions into disaffected Ireland in 1601, much less to contemplate renewing the invasion of England as he did in 1597 and 1599.

Mr Corbett has perhaps somewhat overcoloured his estimate of the strength of Spain in the later stages of the war; and, in his anxiety to show the erroneousness

* We cannot agree with Mr Oppenheim's view as to the fortification of these ports. He seems to hold that their fortification invited attack, and consequently made them sources of danger.

of the ordinary view of that part of the struggle, he is a little inclined to exaggerate England's lack of success. For example, if the Cadiz expedition of 1596 does to some extent deserve his verdict that, 'of all the queen's efforts against Spain, none went further to justify the old reproach that all she did was rather to waken than to weaken her enemy,' that statement is a little one-sided; and to call the expedition 'an irretrievable miscarriage' goes much too far. It was a crippling blow to Philip's reviving power as well as to his prestige, a demonstration of his helplessness as well as of English want of discipline and organisation. So also he rather exaggerates the dangers involved in the growth of the Spanish naval power. The performances of the collections of ships got together by the Adelantado in 1597 and 1599—they hardly deserve the name of fleets—disclose a want of seamanship and a general inefficiency comparable to that of the Armada, if, indeed, they did not surpass the dolorous record of 1588. The intention must not be mistaken for the performance. Spanish fleets have a way of looking more formidable when they are not in sight.

Still it was no fault of Elizabeth's if the Spanish navy was not capable of inflicting serious injury on England. She had given it every encouragement in her power by neglecting to destroy its nascent endeavours; and she had the less excuse for her failure to understand how to use the great weapon her father had bequeathed to her, inasmuch as the right path was continually being pointed out. But she never grasped the full capacities of the force at her disposal, never knew her own strength and her adversary's weakness, never realised, as Drake and Walsingham and Essex realised, that Spain's apparent greatness really rested on unstable foundations. Mr Corbett has urged on her behalf* that her refusal to adopt a more active and vigorous policy was really advantageous, since the time was hardly ripe for the expansion for which so many were anxious, and to which Elizabeth and the ministers she trusted were the chief obstacles. It may have been well that the movement towards expansion was delayed and therefore compelled to wait and gather strength; possibly an effort at colonisation would

* Cf. 'Successors of Drake,' chapter xvi.

have been premature, and England would have gathered the fruits of the overthrow of Spain only to lose them to France or to the Dutch. Certainly Elizabeth's only effective answer to those who, like Mr Corbett, believe that Drake's 'Counter-Armada' policy was the right course, is that the effort to fight Spain on land or through Portugal would have been too much for the resources of England, that England was not ready and not rich enough to support a professional army like those growing up on the Continent. There is much to be said for this view; but it may be pointed out that, so far as expenditure is concerned, much of the 4,000,000*l.* which from first to last Elizabeth spent on her military expeditions might have been saved had it been more systematically and appositely expended, if the dictates of strategy had been considered in planning the scale of the expeditions, and if a proper organisation, such as Essex advocated, had existed to prepare and administer them according to the scientific methods of the day. England had plenty of good soldiers and capable officers; what was needed was more method in making use of them.

Still, if the resources of England were not yet sufficient for the simultaneous waging of war by land and sea, and if the time for expansion had not yet arrived, so that Elizabeth's irresolution and parsimony were blessings in disguise, that hardly makes her irresolution meritorious. Elizabeth was less far-sighted than the strategists who sought in vain to induce her to adopt a logical and systematic scheme of operations. Her refusal to make the efforts her 'men of war' urged upon her was not based on any principle—at least there is no indication that she understood what far-reaching effects would follow from her habit of never following a consecutive or consistent policy—it was the fruit of a dislike for decided measures and of a reluctance to spend money. She cannot claim our gratitude for having acted as a check on too adventurous statesmen and warriors, because that was not the object she had before her. She might as well share the credit for what her 'men of war' achieved in spite of her misguided strategy and uneconomically parsimonious administration. No one can reckon to his credit both the results which he aimed at and achieved, and the consequences which followed from his actions without

his having aimed at them. The German Emperor has not yet designed a statue to the true regenerator of modern Prussia, Napoleon I.

With the death of Elizabeth one reaches a period which, 'at first sight,' seems almost more 'barren of importance and significance' than any other in our naval history. One of the first acts of James I was to bring to a close the war with Spain. The peace was far from being popular with the seamen, who saw all that they had fought for given up, and a lucrative employment brought to a close. But the peace proved lasting; and, with the exception of the disastrous expeditions to Cadiz and Rochelle in 1627 and 1628, the navy and its affairs were relegated to the oblivion which is too often their lot, until the thunder of Tromp's guns off Dover ushered in the great struggle with the Dutch. But the period is not really as barren as it seems. Mr Corbett has shown that in it are to be found the first steps, tentative, indeed, and half forgotten, of that establishment of England's naval power as a permanent factor in the Mediterranean which he has so brilliantly and convincingly described in his latest volumes;* and the chapters that Mr Oppenheim has devoted to the reigns of James I and his unhappy heir are of great interest and value.

One legacy the Elizabethan age left to the Stewarts, which even they did not fail to appreciate. James and his son understood far better than Elizabeth the importance of sea-power to England; they knew that the measure of the strength and efficiency of their fleets was the measure of their means of influencing the affairs of Europe; and they fully believed themselves to be doing their duty by the navy, and to be keeping up its strength. It is perhaps the most striking proof of their unfitness to govern England that, notwithstanding this, the naval history of their reigns should be such a melancholy record of failures and scandals, of lax administration, inefficiency, and dishonesty. The pride which James took in his fleet and in his claim to be 'Sovereign of the Seas' did not prevent the navy from falling into so bad a condition through the maladministration of Sir Robert Mansell, the un-

* 'England in the Mediterranean,' London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1904.

worthy and incompetent adherent of the Earl of Nottingham, that there would soon have been no navy to reform but for the energy and zeal of Cranfield and Coke and their colleagues on the commission appointed by Buckingham's influence in 1618 to examine into the state of the fleet. A study of the record of administrative incapacity and disorders which were so glaringly illustrated by the fiascoes at Cadiz and Rochelle will bring home to Mr Oppenheim's readers the real meaning of Stewart government by prerogative when judged by the test of facts.

Charles I undoubtedly spent on the fleet the funds raised by the ship-money writs; and, 'allowing for his narrow intelligence and vacillating temperament,' he 'showed more persistence and continuity of design in the government of the navy than in any other of his regal duties'; but his good intentions could no more suffice to secure efficiency than the 'oration' from the royal lips, which James had considered a sufficient punishment for offenders found guilty of peculation, could effectually check corruption and malversation. Charles was heavily punished for his neglect to enforce honest and efficient administration. It is one of the ironies of history that the fleet for which he had done, according to his lights, so much should have been largely instrumental in bringing about his downfall. The result of the adherence of the fleet to the side of the Parliament is an aspect of the Civil War which has hardly received adequate attention. It was of enormous importance and would well repay a careful examination. Mr Oppenheim's few remarks on the subject point out how dearly Charles paid for his neglect of the just claims of the seamen.

'On sea as on land his misdeeds followed him home. In the days of his power he had been deaf to the appeals of men who perished that he might attempt to be great. In 1642 the sailors were deaf to his commands.'

In a subsequent article we hope to carry on the story of the British navy through the Protectorate and the Restoration to the capture of Gibraltar and the establishment of our position as a Mediterranean Power.

Art. VII.—CANON AINGER.

1. *Charles Lamb*. By Alfred Ainger. (English Men of Letters Series.) London: Macmillan, 1882.
2. *The Letters of Charles Lamb*. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Alfred Ainger. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1888.
3. *The Poems of Thomas Hood*. Edited by Alfred Ainger. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1897.
4. *Humorous Poems by Thomas Hood*. With a preface by Alfred Ainger. London: Macmillan, 1893.
5. *Crabbe*. By Alfred Ainger. (English Men of Letters Series.) London: Macmillan, 1903.
6. *The Gospel and Human Life*. Sermons by Alfred Ainger. London: Macmillan, 1904.

AN old friend of Canon Ainger's once observed that he needed at least fifty biographers—one for each of his different moods. The speaker might have added that each mood, far from being a transitory expression of temperament, flashed upon us one more facet of his many-sided, many-cornered nature. He was mercurial, atmospheric, compact of subtle essences and intangible sympathies, which bound him with intricate threads. No man showed more of the weather of the soul than he did—interesting weather, rich in fitful gleams, in shifting lights and shadows, which provided new aspects at every turn; yet the longer one watched the more one realised that, however changeful the light, the outlook it illumined remained the same—large, noble, serene. If it were possible to gather into one room all the many people who knew him, the humble and the illustrious, his old friends and his recent acquaintance, it would probably be found that most of them would differ in their accounts of what he was, but that all would agree in one thing—an impression of ordered goodness, quiet and profound, and of great spiritual distinction.

This was indeed the basis of his being, that his gifts and his humours, his brilliant and delicate wit, his fastidious taste, his sensitiveness and his impatience were alike inexorably submitted to his lofty religious standard. That standard was never betrayed for a moment by any sally of his wit, however sudden—a fact which was a

moral victory in a nature so spontaneous and so mobile. And it was precisely the union of steady moral intensity with elfin quickness which made the fascination of his personality. To those who knew him his mouth expressed this blending of elements as truly as if it had been a fine and flexible instrument responding to an invisible touch. Firm it was and whimsical, whether closed in meditation, or open—the under-lip protruding—to dart forth some winged quip, or half shut while he listened to music, as if he were inhaling the beauty that he loved. It was the mouth of an actor, the mouth of a sober student, the mouth of a self-controlled man. It distracted the painters to whom he sat and caused the failure of nearly all his portraits. 'The mouth is not at all like,' complained a friend to whom he showed a picture recently completed. 'No,' replied he, 'the poor artist was only seeking the bubble reputation at the Canon's mouth'; and better artists than this one might have sought long and sought in vain.

Alfred Ainger came of a French Huguenot family, and had something of a Frenchman's secret of being serious without being solemn, for the moral gift of which we have spoken never led him into moralising, even though it underlay all that he thought and felt—his habits, his literary criticism, his acting, his very wit.

'In the hands of a Hood' (he writes, and the saying applies equally to himself), 'the pun becomes an element in his fancy, his humour, his ethical teaching, even his pathos. As ordinarily experienced, the pun is the irreconcilable enemy of these things. It could not dwell with them in one house. Hood saw, and was the first to show that the pun might become even their handmaid, and in this confidence dared to use it often in his serious poems, when he was conveying some moral truth or expressing some profound human emotion. . . . He never hesitated to make the pun minister to higher ends, and vindicate its right to a share in quickening men's best sympathies.'

This reference to the moral side of life and art, this acute moral perception, was an essential part of his character. It helps to explain much that might otherwise bewilder. To the world at large it seemed surprising that Canon Ainger, the wit, the artist, the man of letters,

the man of the world, should ever have entered the ministry; and most people would probably have solved the problem by supposing that his choice of a profession was a decision of early days, adhered to afterwards rather from fidelity than from fervour. But the truth was the reverse. He was a minister before all else; this was his ideal, kept intact until the end of his life; and the real cause for surprise lay in his manner of filling all those other parts which so delighted society. He had fleeting and very youthful visions of the stage and the law, speedily dissolved by delicate health and other considerations; but early in his Cambridge days Frederick Denison Maurice took possession of his soul, and the undergraduate resolved that the Church was the one place for him—a decision as fresh and as true to him on the last day of his ministry as on the first.

Perhaps this attitude of his was partly due to the fact that the faith of the Church of England came to him as an emotion, for he was brought up in a Unitarian atmosphere and had been taken to a Unitarian Church—the Unitarian Church of the forties—which left his expansive nature unsatisfied; and it was not till he went to school in London that he attended Anglican services. They seemed to him a revelation of the beauty, the warmth, the spiritual discipline he craved for; and upon the personal nature of the Christian revelation, upon the personal tie with Christ as the means of realising God and living by His laws, the whole of his religion was based. He had found his spiritual refuge in a good day, in a day of fresh inspiration and vitality in the Church, when men woke up to the deadness of things and determined to give live force to old forms—a day in which Maurice, Robertson, Kingsley were there to lead and to interpret. Once having reached his haven, he stayed there. To one who believed implicitly that the strength and the proof of religion lay in the heart, not in the head—that thus, through the feelings, it levelled the simple and the subtle—there seemed no reason for intellectual doubts or for the shadow of change.

His unchangeableness, at once his strength and his limitation, was not confined to his religion, but was equally true of all the rest of him. Probably nobody ever changed so little from the day that he was seventeen

onwards. Nay, we should rather say seven, for there is a letter from him at that age to a little playmate, 'Jocky,' which shows all the essential tastes that he still kept sixty years after.

'I should like you to come and see me very much, for I have got a very nice studio to take all my friends in when we want to have a little private conversation. I have got a statue and some very fine oil-paintings in it, and a reading-desk and a pair of globes. . . . I have just finished writing a book, which I have called "Rambles in Wales"; it has 14 pages in it. You shall read it when you come here. I have got a delightful book called the "Rejected Addresses." I have read it through a great many times. I think you would like it too.'

The last sentence was characteristic of him at every age. The 'I think you would like it too' always distinguished him from the abstract student. Whenever he enjoyed a book he wanted to communicate it to others, confident that it would bring them the same happiness it brought to him. And yet he was a scholar of letters, demanding due space and solitude, though he changed with quicksilver speed according to his mood—now from scholar into actor, now from actor into dreamer, and again from dreamer into Ariel, or some Shakespearean spirit of 'music in the air.' From his childhood he was music-haunted. Sometimes he would sing, sometimes he would whistle; and his schoolmates, who called him the 'Whistling Boy,' gathered round his slight form as he mounted a table to whistle to them. Those who in recent years heard him whistle Schubert's songs knew that he had not lost this sweet-toned power, and they could the more easily realise his description of himself as a country curate, cheering his long tramps by making the muddy lanes resound to the melodies of his well-beloved composer.

This unity of his from first to last bound all the years together and equalised the different ages for him, lending him sedateness when he was young and keeping him young to the end. Perhaps this staid conservative habit helped to make him such a devotee of association, of habits, of known friends and known surroundings, content to live without travel or stir; evoked in him too the 'moderate Tory,' so surprising to find side by side with

the fantastic artist. For it may with truth be said that a mind less modern than his would be difficult to meet. He paid little heed to modern ideas, not because he wanted to avoid them, but because he did not care for them. His limitations, no doubt, had their drawbacks; but they lent him that fine literary flavour which linked him on to old traditions and enriched him with a few racy prejudices that strengthened, even when they narrowed, his literary vision. His conservatism was a matter of temperament rather than belief; and from politics he always kept aloof. 'I see,' he wrote when he was nineteen, 'that — is a moderate Tory; and unless a man is to be of no party, which is impossible, I suppose he had better be that than anything.' This statement, remarkable at a time of life when nearly everybody is a Radical, equally expressed his view at any moment of his career. Much the same, his old friends aver, might be said of his looks as of his character.

'The face never altered' (writes one of them), 'nor the gait, nor the circular swing out of the left arm, nor the tossing back of the lock that would fall forward, nor the quick, bird-like turn of the head. Time had no power over the steady blue eyes, nor on their glint of merriment, heralding the expressive twitch of the mouth as it delivered some sportful jest or caustic comment.'

The fact was that his appearance could hardly change because his presence was almost, as it were, incorporeal. Round his cradle he had heard 'the horns of elfland faintly blowing'; and his body seemed but the frail and fanciful sheath pierced by his flashing spirit. In his youth it appeared hardly to count. He writes to a friend in Cambridge days to disclaim his need of a whole bed to himself.

'In the course of my chequered career I have slept at different times under a sofa, in an arm-chair, before the turf fire in a Highland cottage. Once while reading in my bedroom I fell asleep over the back of the bed and was found the next morning hanging in that position like fine things airing. . . . I think' (he writes elsewhere in his first term) 'you would have smiled to see me this morning in chapel in a white surplice which the whole university wears on Sundays and saints' days, and gives one the appearance of an angel just got out of bed.'

That description held good of himself in the later days at the Temple.

His looks helped his genius for acting; indeed they seemed to be created by it. There was apparently no moment of his life when he did not act. He was at school with the sons of Charles Dickens, and from boyhood onwards took part in the plays written by Dickens, and acted by him and his children, together with a choice company of colleagues, every year at Tavistock House. It was Alfred Ainger's performance that on one of these occasions caused Thackeray to fall off his chair with inextinguishable laughter; for the quality of his impersonations was unlike anything else. They, doubtless, bore the stamp of Dickens—of Alfred Wigan too, and Compton, and Robson, each one of whom he delighted to study. Reading *Elia* upon Munden and the gallant grace of Dicky Suet reminds one of the swift, indelible charm, of the pith and the kindliness of Ainger's comedy. Above all, the clear-cut form which was the distinction of his art united him to the older tradition. But he was not the result of that, or of any other tradition; he was, first and foremost, himself. His acting, like his wit, like his writing, was—if such an expression be allowable—a masterpiece of creative criticism. It was both text and comment. His looks and his gestures became those of the character he was playing, even when he stood up in a drawing-room in his ordinary clerical coat; but, while his mind seemed absorbed in that of the person in question, it continued to flash lucidly upon you his own private judgment of that person—to mock, to pity, or to love him. He might be the deaf old sexton, formerly acted by Dickens in his '*Mrs Nightingale's Diary*,' an ancient creature, only semi-conscious, already more than half of the earth; or the rambling old lady in the same play, lost in the mazes of her own verbal promiscuousness, into whom the sexton changed in a flash; or Monsieur Tourbillon, the French master, in '*To Parents and Guardians*'; or the victim of the old Scotch lady who would not die, in his favourite poem, '*The Annuity*';* or Falstaff, or an infinitely freakish, infinitely sad fool in

* From George Outram's '*Lyrics, Legal and Miscellaneous*,' a book from which he especially liked reading.

Shakespeare. Or else he would transform himself into something observed in daily life—a pathetic monkey nestling against an organ-grinder for warmth, a donkey enjoying his freedom, a parrot drawing a cork, or, in old Cambridge days, into a fellow undergraduate who was wont to drop his books while he looked up at the clock in Trinity Hall—a performance which used to set his college in a roar, the subject of his imitation among the rest. In all such renderings it was the graceful malice, the controlled exuberance, the fancy based on reality that charmed the ear and mind.

His readings of Shakespeare began while he was still at King's College, London, and continued for more than half a century.

'It was in "Twelfth Night"' (writes one who heard those first readings) 'that he showed the full fervour of his interpretation. Sir Andrew Aguecheek was after no one except Shakespeare, out of whose pages he sprang alive. . . . What admirable fooling it was! What a wealth of suggestion! Your mind's eye saw the loose-hung, limp, shambling figure. You noted the almost pathetic attempts at repartee; the haunting suspicion that they missed fire; the feeble rallying to the attitude of what was almost, but not quite, conceit; the occasional gleams of self-knowledge, all unavailing for guidance or encouragement, leaving only the power to depress that weakly body and flickering mind—all this, and all the so much more in the "foolish Knight," lived and moved before you, stirring you to laughter—and to pity. For in all A. A.'s renderings there was (once more to pervert the trite quotation) that "touch of nature" that "makes the whole world kin." The images presented to your mental view were all from "gentle Shakespeare" cut, as an engraver copies from an artist. Stephano might be brutal, but he was loyal to the "poor monster." Dr Caius might be fussy and tiresome, but you felt he was an alien, whose learning and common-sense were not discerned by his Windsor neighbours through his broken English, though the ridicule of his wooing might be borne with for the sake of a substantial jointure. . . . This sympathy he allowed to put him at some disadvantage in Jacques, whose inherent rascality he appreciated but did not fully express. He wrote a paper justifying his view of the character.'

As time went on, such readings, both in public and in private, became more frequent. The happy parishioners

of the remote village in Staffordshire where he was curate for a while constantly enjoyed them, for it was one of the means of spiritual education that he, as their pastor, believed in. No less enviable were the inmates of the Collegiate School at Sheffield, where, after his curacy, he acted for almost three years as assistant-master. His exertions were not without a strain upon himself.

'I ought to apologise' (he writes to a lady) 'for running away in such haste the other evening; but I was "colder" and tired; and, moreover, the reaction on my spirits after reading tragedy is so peculiar that I am wholly dazed and unfit for society. For the time being, the fictitious life is immeasurably more real to me than the living life around me.'

This was written not long after he obtained the Readership at the Temple—a post which he got straight from the Sheffield school on the merits of his beautiful reading. In later life the strain increased, and he liked to have music—the suggestive Schumann for choice—played to him to put him in the mood for his impersonations. But excitement always carried him through and lent him marvellous vitality.

In all such matters of creative criticism, in the quality and sensitiveness of his originality, he was born of the Charles Lamb race and belonged by nature to Lamb's Thursday evenings. And he was lucky enough to be set in the right framework for his character. From the moment that he gained the Readership, the Temple claimed him for her own—not alone 'her polished corners' within, but her outer courts; the Benchers' Hall, the legal purlieus that he loved (for the law never ceased to fascinate him, and he delighted in the talk of lawyers), the many unexpected corners, Goldsmith's tomb near the church, all the urban calm of the place, with the roaring traffic of the Strand at a stone's throw. The Temple is still one of the few places left for habits to grow up in; and Canon Ainger was made for habits. Here every one knew him and he knew every one: the old porter, for whom he so often took sandwiches, pretending that he wanted them himself; the vergers, the plumbers on the church roof, the German bandsmen whom he tried to persuade to play Schubert, the newsboy from whom he regularly bought his evening paper, and who, when

the Master died, exclaimed that he had 'lost his best friend'; the blind beggar near the Embankment, whom he could not pass without an alms, and who never failed to know that he was there because of his voice. These accustomed charities made a network which grew stronger during the thirty-eight years of his connexion with the Temple. There were other actions too, little deeds of fidelity which he performed wherever he might be; the 'Times' sent every day for thirty years to his friend in the country, fastened up by himself with the same thud at the same moment after luncheon, as he stamped its cover upon the floor; the papers and the letters—and the bank-notes—despatched with unfailing punctuality to those left behind by life—invalids, governesses, the humble, the depressed; or the letters, written with such enjoyment to an old friend every Christmas eve, from 1873 to the last one of his life—a collection of all his good stories of the twelvemonth, which he was careful to post with his own hand. These may be small things, but they made the happiness of many.

His wit no less than his figure suited well with his setting and with the Benchers, whose table he so often cheered. Many of his *bons-mots* have become current coin, like the 'no flowers, by request'—his comment upon the style of the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' made at the dinner in its honour. Many others were born of the moment, of the fortuitous collision of words; and their aptness when applied gave them an exhilarating power too ephemeral for reproduction. The charm that he lent them was often a personal one, dependent on the dart of his eye, the gesture of his hands, as he uttered them. On one occasion at a dinner-party he spilt some wine upon the table. 'You would never have expected *me* to show such disrespect for the cloth,' he at once said apologetically to his hostess. Catastrophes at meal-times seem to have especially drawn forth his wit. There is a record of a luncheon when the black dress of a guest of his suffered from an accident with some of Crosse and Blackwell's pickles.

'They've spilt all her pickles—

How great is her loss!

They don't suit her Black well,

And so she is Cross.'

Thus he exclaimed without a moment's hesitation. No less prompt was his rejoinder one day when some one told him that her dressmaker lived next door to Spencer Wells, the surgeon.

'Next to Mr Spencer Wells,
Madame White the modiste dwells.
The reason why—are you a guesser?
Next to the surgeon comes the dresser.'

His perception of hidden analogies seemed to spring from words almost before the speaker had finished with them. 'Ainger's last (quite private),' he wrote to a friend in Cambridge days. 'One of our men told me the other day that he had discovered that our classical lecturer uses a translation in class. "Ah," I replied, "the ass knoweth its master's crib" (*vide* first lesson of last Sunday morning).' Indeed, throughout his letters, of whatever period, there occur verbal quips which lose life when taken out of their context; or, even if they can stand alone, they seem to need his presence to quicken them. In 1892, when the Liberals had come in by only forty-two votes: 'The G.O.M.,' he says, 'will try to bear his moderate majority with forty-twod.' And more recently, of a young friend at Oxford: 'I hope,' he wrote, 'that — will do well in his coming exam., and that, as the apostle (all but) said, his "moderations" will be known unto all men.' His wit, like all wit that lasts, had an atmosphere of humour. He gave the most unexpected turn to any subject that came up. Talking, for instance, of an impecunious gentleman who had married a coloured heiress and did not get on with her, 'It seems a pity,' he remarked, 'that he should quarrel with his bread and butter, even though it is brown.' He said things as quietly as if he were making a bare statement, giving no sign of fun except by a shooting gleam from his eyes.

His fun, however personal, was always forgiven him; indeed he never really gave offence. There was a famous occasion in his young days, at a time when Dr Cumming was making himself conspicuous by his constant announcements that the last day was at hand, especially in his book 'The Great Tribulation.' One evening Ainger was amusing his company by a 'chronicle song' about this personage.

'The eminent Low Church divine
Who is putting us up to a proximate sign,
And tells us without any ha-ing or humming
What a very great Tribulation is—Coming.'

So it ran. But just after the performer had finished this verse and passed to the next, 'into the brighter light around the piano a figure emerged from the comparative gloom. It was the Doctor, who took the matter sensibly and good-humouredly.' We may hope that he was also amused.

It must not be imagined that he always coruscated. His talk was often quiet and grave, but even when he spoke of common things it never lacked form. And he was a good listener. When he was not inclined to emit much himself he was interested in the things that were said and the people whom he met, and liked to make circumspect enquiries about them. It was inevitable too that his highly-strung nature should have its moods. If his company were at all uncongenial or even unfamiliar to him, if he were pressed to read or expected to jest, if his taste or his fastidious ear for language were offended, he would shut himself up in a silence which he himself seemed powerless to break. Short of these alarming moments, he would sometimes appear almost formal if the society he was in did not stimulate him—though what would stimulate him it was difficult to say; oftener than not it was the presence of rather dull or shy people whom he delighted to cheer and amuse. This sensitiveness occasionally gave the impression of caprice, because its cause was generally imperceptible except by those who knew him well; but the cause was always there, and he was never fickle in his likings.

One of the distinctions of his wit was his power over quotations, his swift adaptation of them to his needs. Lines of poetry and of prose altered to his will; stories, nonsense-rhymes, were brought forth at a moment's notice and were often taken for his own. Nor did this impair his originality; it seemed rather to show him as a resourceful administrator of wit—a born editor of other men's sayings as well as a producer of his own. In his jests, as in all else, he was a critic. To preach, outside a pulpit, bored him; but he often conveyed serious criticism of life in a quip or an adage. 'Shak-

speare' (he wrote in his commonplace book) 'said "Brevity is the soul of wit"; our age reads "levity."' Or, in the same little volume: 'Blackstone says that idiots cannot marry. How frequently is this law evaded!' In conversation, as in writing, he would frequently avoid solemn discussions on the fashionable book of the moment, or hit off some exaggeration he had noticed by a sudden rhyme or a spicy phrase. His dissatisfactions also often evaporated in verse.

'Last Sunday' (he writes) 'the coughing in church was something terrible. I deeply regret that its effect upon myself was even worse, for I pulled out my pencil and produced the following:—

The Complaint of the Poor Preacher.

(Influenza-time.)

'Your pity not in vain we seek
Who serve beneath your parish steeples;
Our own coughs plague us all the week,
And on the Sunday—other people's.'

We add another sally in his lighter vein.

'To Dr —, who sends me his dramas.
Oh! doctor, finding ever fresh
Employments for thy cruel mood—
Thy ether-spray to freeze our flesh,
Thy tragedies to freeze our blood.
Thank God, I stand in need of neither;
And yet, were I my mind to say,
If I must be the prey of either,
I think I'd be the ether's-pray.'

He could not have pronounced more finally had he written a long review. Nor, had he penned a serious article on 'stage realism,' could he have given more forcible criticism than is conveyed by his poem, written upon the introduction of a hansom cab on the Drury Lane boards—the progenitor of many such stage prodigies.

On the real 'Hansom Cab' at Drury Lane Theatre.

(In the 'Streets of London.')

'Ho! for Art and Education;
Ho! for Progress (à la crab).
Have you heard the new sensation?
Have you seen the Hansom Cab?

Never, Drury, was thy stage meant
 For this "most unkindest" stab.
 They have offered an engagement
 To a Cabman—and his Cab.

Where we've wept with Juliet's sadness,
 Heard Mercutio or Queen Mab,
 Where we've marked Ophelia's madness,
 There to-day 's a Hansom Cab.

Here we've seen the hags appalling
 Make the gruel "thick and slab";
 Here we've heard King Richard calling
 For a horse—but not a Cab.

Gone Sir Toby, Slender, Shallow,
 Launce, with stony-hearted Crab.
 Shakspeare's touch e'en curs could hallow;
 Not e'en his a Hansom Cab.

Touchstone, Trinculo, all vanished;
 Hushed the jester's fluent gab;
 "For oh! the Hobby-horse" is vanished:
 Modern taste demands—the Cab.

Close the idle panorama!
 All is gone; and on a slab
 Let us write, "Here lies the Drama,
 Knocked down by a Hansom Cab."

Most of his verses were written for private delectation; a few appeared in 'Punch.' He had, however, a much more fruitful, if a less direct connexion with that periodical. The kind gods of fun and friendship brought him and Du Maurier together. It was in 1875, while he was Reader at the Temple and when both were living at Hampstead; and from that time until his 'beloved artist' died they were the closest collaborators, Ainger ('Your own Canon,' as he signed himself) providing jokes for Du Maurier to illustrate in 'Punch.' It gave a definite purpose to his gift for collecting good stories and for his paternal love of them when collected; and most of the best witticisms of those palmy days of 'Punch' were concocted by the two friends, generally while they and their dogs walked round Hampstead Heath pond—as they often did twice a day for nearly twelve years—till the Canon removed to the Temple. They discussed every

kind of topic; and not the least interesting distinction of their intercourse was the utter divergence of their religious views, and the fact that it never cast a shadow of difference between them.

Canon Ainger had, indeed, a genius for friendship—no lesser word serves the purpose—much in the same way as had Charles Lamb and Edward Fitzgerald, the other men whom he loved to dwell on. With him, as with them, friendship remained what it always is in youth, an emotion, an ever fresh excitement; and it was remarkable that, while holding fast to his old friends, he never ceased to make as many new ones as if he had still been young. Perhaps no man ever had a greater number of friends—men of the world, recluses, musicians, lawyers, old pensioners of both sexes, men of letters, men who had none, artists, and, not the least, children. Each individual knew him in a different guise. To one he was the comrade in literature, the familiar spirit of the library, to another the fellow-fisherman, his whole heart centred on trout. Often he was the family friend, intimate with every member of a large household and conversant with its smallest details; or the wizard of the nursery and the schoolroom, famed for his acting and his fantastic stories, his rhymes and his sleight of hand. To those who knew him in their sorrows he came as the most human of comforters, well-versed in suffering, one whose silence helped as much as his speech, who warmed men by the grasp of his hand.

Friendships were, indeed, the events of a life which was externally uneventful. Its chief incidents are his appointment to the Readership in 1866, to a Canonry at Bristol in 1887, to the Mastership of the Temple in 1894; and the appearance of his literary work, more especially his 'Life of Charles Lamb' and his scholarly edition of Lamb's letters. But he felt no need of more stir, for he had in him the vein of sentiment which kept life romantic in the midst of plain practical duties. It made him naturally susceptible to all refined impressions, not least to intercourse with women. Of his two sisters, the younger, his witty companion, Marianne, married early and settled in Germany; the other, Adeline, died when he was thirty. No sketch of his character would be complete without some mention

of this sister, seven years his elder, who shared the religious aspirations of his youth and all the interests of his life, and whom he looked up to spiritually, loving her with a passionate devotion. Her sudden death was a blow that changed his life. Another, though a later influence in this first half of his existence, was that of his Staffordshire vicar's wife, the charming and music-loving Mrs Haslehurst, whose companionship drew him out and helped him, while she made her house a home to him. But she also died early, to his lasting grief—a grief which he expressed in verse; for verses he always wrote with ease, though he composed but few of a serious nature after he was thirty-five years old. He never published them, or thought enough of them to polish their form; their appeal is to the heart, not to the sense of artistic finish. The few that we have chosen will speak for themselves. The first is to his sister and was written the year before she died.

'Home is not home, where is no kindred face;
And often wearied with the jars of day,
From stranger hearths I sadly turn away,
The story of my childhood's days to trace.
The past seems fading from me, and the grace
That clings to Home and household memories.
For friends are sweet, but friendship ne'er supplies
The love of those who link us to our race.
But, as in cottage panes the setting sun
Writes in gold words the story of its reign,
So in thine eyes, my dearest, still remain
The gentle memories of a day that's done.
And when I think of thee I smile, my own,
To think I ever thought I was alone.'

The next, dated six years later, also concerns her.

By a Grave.

'The hills are white with snow,
And the sun is bright o'erhead,
As I stand with head bowed low
In homage to the Dead.

And a pain my spirit chills,
But a hope is burning high,
For the snow will leave the hills,
And the sun is in the sky.'

'Easter, 1868' is the inscription upon a few lines that he wrote in memory of a friend, and he adds the words, 'Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, He is risen.'

'New footsteps tread the paths which once she trod;
New voices give the welcome once she gave;
And none who loved her marks, except her God,
Her lonely grave.

The two poems that follow are to his nieces.

To Maggie, on her Birthday in Glen Etive.

'No bird makes music in our glen,
The hills and streams of song are bare,
So far removed from the world's ken,
It would but wound the silence rare.

But peace and joy and love are here;
And these to me, my child, thou art.
So, if no song salute thine ear,
Think not it means a thankless heart.'

To Ada, on her Birthday.

'And as this temple waxes the inward service of the mind
and soul grows wide withal.'

'The East wind bites with bitter fang,
The lap of Spring is filled with snow;
The leaflet lingers in the hedge,
The timid flower forbears to blow;

But, darling, not for this I fear
To sing the wonted songs of May;
Nor deem that any blight can fall
Upon the glory of this day.

'Tis not from time we gather growth
Nor sunshine where the world has part;
But from the love we gain and give--
The inward service of the heart.

In duty done and self forgot;
In joy of making others blessed;
These are the milestones of our life,
And here the "sunshine of the breast."

To an earlier time belong these next stanzas in memory of an old friend who had died.

'We love to think of him forgiven,
New glorying in his second birth;
But e'en because his home is heaven,
The more, not less, he haunts our earth.

I seldom took his honest hand—
Our ways had parted many a year;
But he is in the silent land,
And lo! he seemeth ever near.

The mellow lustre of his eye,
The smile about his lips at play,
In life, the sport of memory,
In death shall never pass away.

Ah! gentle Death whom we malign,
Alone thou canst not loose or tie;
But, yoked with love, all power is thine:
The dead we love can never die.'

To still older days belongs the poem below, which was composed in Sheffield for the dear friends with whom he had lived there.

1861-1868.

'Exiled from his father's house,
As the sacred records tell,
In the quest of home and love
Jacob came to Haran's well.
And he wooed his Rachel there,
Seven years without demur,
And they seemed to him but few
For the love he bore to her.
Homeless, and with kindred few,
Driven Jacob-like to roam,
I, for seven happy years,
Found with thee and thine a home.
Trusted friends of seven years,
May I not my guerdon claim?
Christian are the hopes we share;
Call me by my Christian name.'

His peculiar charm lingers in these last verses—a natural quality of sober gracefulness rarely found among Englishmen. We feel it, too, in the lines written to commemorate some Shakespeare readings held in a friend's house.

'For fifteen weeks a friendly train
 Around the social board have met,
 To smile at Slender's childish vein,
 Or weep with love-lorn Juliet.
 No winter gale has power to touch
 The sweetness of Verona's spring.
 Our private griefs seemed small to such
 As that which wrecked Sicilia's King.
 And as we read dear Shakspeare's page,
 Each wound of time found healing balm;
 The blood of youth ran new in age,
 The young were touched with age's calm.
 But ah! to-night the wind is chill,
 And all the cares of life return.
 O Memory, linger with us still,
 And, Hope, bring forth thy lamp to burn!'

His lyrics often sound a higher strain. We have spoken earlier of the need that he felt for a personal relationship with the divine as the foundation of his religion. This was the keynote of his faith; it was also the explanation of his aloofness from modern thought and from the probings of a younger generation. The poems we now print, each in its way, express his spiritual intensity.

On Reading a Volume of Modern Sermons.

'With eager knife that oft has sliced
 At Gentile gloss or Jewish fable,
 Before the crowd you lay the Christ
 Upon the Lecture Table.
 From bondage to the old beliefs
 You say our rescue must begin;
 But I want refuge from my griefs
 And saving from my sin.
 The strong, the easy, and the glad
 Hang blandly listening on thy word;
 But I am sick, and I am sad,
 And I need Thee, O Lord.'

The Prayer of a Busy Man (1864).

'O Lord, with toil our days are filled;
 They rarely leave us free.
 Oh, give us space to seek for grace
 In happy thoughts of Thee.

Yet hear us, though we seldom ask ;

Oh, leave us not alone !

In every thought and word and task

Be near us, though unknown.

Still lead us, wandering in the dark,

Still send Thy heavenly food ;

And mark, as none on earth can mark,

Our struggles to be good.'

A Thought.

'In days of health there seemed no need

Bliss other than of earth to seek ;

The joy of life was joy indeed,

And I was strong—but I was weak.

But He who ever lives to bless

Has ways that to Himself belong.

My pain has taught me trustfulness ;

And I am weak—but I am strong.'

The things outside the world of his beliefs and affections rarely impelled him to express them. There was one such occasion—when Robert Browning died on the very day when 'Asolando' was published. In his copy of the book Canon Ainger has written this verse:—

From Asolare ('to disport in the air').

'Never more keen than when his work was ending,

Never more brave !

How sweet, how sad, when life and death were blending,

This name he gave.

Like Hamlet: "Will you walk from out the air

Into my grave?"'

(Published Dec. 12, 1889. 1st edition exhausted by 4 P.M. Browning died at 10 P.M. Bought Dec. 13, at Bristol.—A. A.)

These lines, which were evoked by a sleepless night, bring home a constant habit of their writer's mind—not only that of swift analogy, but that of familiar reference to Shakespeare. It was almost second nature to him, in writing and in talk, to illustrate any chance topic by quotations from the poet he knew best; his puns and his phraseology were redolent of the plays; and no old Puritan had the Scriptures more commonly on his lips than Canon Ainger had Shakespeare. We have spoken of his gift of moral criticism, of the strong appeal that the

moral side of life and art made to him; and it was the profound moral outlook which drew him most powerfully to the poet who for him summed up both life and art. 'It is owing to that surefooted step of his in things moral that he leaves us in the end satisfied,' he once said in a lecture on Shakespeare. Not that he thought art a moral matter, but he believed that it set up what Tolstoi calls 'a moral relation between itself and the public'; that it embodied a view of human existence often unconsciously formulated; and that, however impersonal, of its very nature it must reveal personality. He did not neglect beauty—none was keener than he to see and value it; but he regarded moral health as essential to beauty—not as the flower itself, but as the sun and light which fed the flower. 'Without profound ethical beauty there can be no permanent or enduring popularity for the serious drama,' he wrote; and again, in comparing an Elizabethan drama with a modern one, he says:—

'The "Duchess of Malfi" is a fine but in many ways a repulsive play. Webster's defects, or rather excesses, are admitted by all his readers. . . . The drama abounds in slaughter and in suffering; and the poet has no scruples as to the former being perpetrated *coram populo*. It is grim, ghastly, bizarre, all but grotesque in its incidents; it is often cynically plain-spoken and even coarse in its language, contrasting painfully with the divine reticence of Shakspeare. And yet no reader, when he arrives at the end, can be insensible to the fact that he has lived all through it in high and elevating companionship both of noble characters and noble thoughts and ideas. He has been pained and terrified, but he has been lifted above vulgar things by the pity and terror he has suffered. Not alone in such lines as

"I have ever thought

Nature doth nothing so great for great men

As when she's pleased to make them lords of truth,"

but in the poet's clear conception of the characters of the Duchess and of her chosen husband, there is a storehouse of human dignity and virtue which would sweeten even a more unsavoury atmosphere than that in which Webster has set them. The speech of the Duchess in the opening scene, when she declares her love for Antonio, beginning—

"The misery of us that are born great—

We are forced to woo, because none dare woo us"—

strikes a keynote to the tragedy which no after-sounds of discord or extravagance can ever drown.*

He had the same feeling about other writers, about Chaucer—his especial love—about Wordsworth and Dickens, about Hood and Charles Lamb. We could cite many passages from his writings which set forth this idea; but space forbids us, and we cannot do more than subjoin a few scattered extracts taken from notes of his various lectures upon Shakespeare. Fragmentary though they be, they give some rough impression of his thought.

‘Shakspeare held up the mirror to human nature itself, not to it in any particular garb it might happen to assume.’

‘All true humour is based on breadth of observation; this is true humour because true life.’

‘Shakspeare cared for man more than for incident, and revealed all the varied, unvarying qualities of humanity. . . . In Shakspeare the plot arises from the characters and could not exist without them. . . . No matter how repellent his plots, without intending it, and even without being conscious of it, Shakspeare seems to sweeten them and bring us more into love with human nature.’

‘Poetic justice, as that imbecile phrase is generally understood, was all but absent in Shakspeare; and that is a mark of his greatness. Except in his fantastic comedies, he showed no sign of making things happy all round. He never considered what would be liked by the barren spectator, for whom, indeed, he was compelled to have a well-founded contempt.’

‘Literature demanded a perfectly sane genius . . . and Shakspeare’s genius was pervaded by moral sanity and moral sweetness. . . . Even his first attempt showed no sign of imitation; and his was “the power of going on and still to be.” The stream, though it flows through well-ordered banks, yet as it flows it brims. . . . His was the prodigality of quality rather than quantity. In his earlier work the food is sometimes too rich, and we cannot see the wood for the trees. . . . His finest mastery is the mastery over himself. As the incidents rise, his language calms into simplicity and strength. . . . He shows us suffering and all the glory of charity, which springs up like flowers about its feet.’

‘We know Pope and Swift by their writings. Every novelist, too, now and then relapses on himself, but it is not

* ‘Pilot,’ March 3, 1900.

so with the dramatist. . . . It is Shakspeare, not Pistol, who laughs at the fashion of the day. And we, who have watched Shakspeare laugh at it, know him the better for it. . . . It has been thought that Jacques represents Shakspeare at a time when moral sentiment had become dimmer through contact with the world. I read a different moral, and think that it was a healthy mood in which Shakspeare wrote the part. Jacques is not Shakspeare; and when, in the play, his melancholy is laughed at, Shakspeare is condemning cynicism, not allowing it. The little touch of conscience made Jacques sweet.'

'If "Love's Labour's Lost" shows an excess of words, "Coriolanus" shows an excess of thought—depth of thought also. Its very obscurity comes from a plethora of thought. . . . "The Winter's Tale" stands by the side of "The Tempest" in sweetness and in greatness. There may be, and is, a difference in power when we compare it with the earlier plays, but most assuredly there is no falling off. . . . Its tone is autumnal, real to feel if difficult to define. . . . "The Winter's Tale" and the "Tempest" rank as comedies, but they are so solemn that it seems profane not to rank them apart. In them we find still another "soul of goodness in things evil"—still distilled but sweeter than before. Their effect is as that of a sunny day after rain.'

These remarks will serve to help remembrance; for those who heard Canon Ainger lecture on any poet will be able, even from these scattered fragments, to reconstruct a unique pleasure, filling up the gaps with tones and gestures. Especially will they recall the readings with which he interspersed his comments, and by which he enforced the human impressions he had been trying to convey. Who, for instance, that heard him read the description of 'Chanticleere' from Chaucer did not at once realise the 'glad confident morning,' the jolly honesty and brave cheer of the poet and his day? or who would be likely to forget the picture of the ladies quarrelling for precedence in church and his sly comparison, shot lightly into the air, of the quarrels about pews in our own times which make Chaucer seem quite modern? His manner as lecturer, delicate, incisive, was as unlike other people's as his appearance. He would stand at his desk, elusive and yet dominant, intimate, yet remote, with a dignity all his own, as if he came from the land of literature—the land of poetry' (to quote

himself), 'which is in reality no man's land'—and were only there to represent it.

He was, we must repeat, a born interpreter, because he became what he interpreted. Were there no other proof of this, his translations of German poems, regularly written, during several years, for the benefit of singers at the Hampstead Concerts, would be enough in themselves—translations conscientiously close to their originals, yet poems by their own right. This is only to say that his life and his literary work were of a piece; and the feature distinctive of both was the personal quality. His friendships in literature were much like his actual friendships, close, unalterable, and founded upon likes and dislikes which he did not attempt to get over. The great English writers he constantly dwelt with. They were meat and drink to him, an elemental part of existence, accepted like the air he breathed. Spenser, Milton, and Walter Scott never ceased to refresh and strengthen him; Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning strongly affected his thought. To hear him quote any of these men was to gauge the part they played in his life. But for his familiars, the confidential companions whom he associated with the little things of every day, he chose Charles Lamb, Thomas Hood (whom he never allowed to be called Tom), and Charles Dickens, whom he had upon his lips almost as often as Shakespeare. Enough has perhaps been said about his affinities to Lamb, but it is not so common to dwell upon his likeness to Hood. The resemblance, indeed, was not one of the whole individuality, as in Lamb's case, but lay in certain qualities and intellectual faculties; and Hood's nimble-footed wit, his gift for punning, his unfailing fun and sentiment, his moods of melancholy, his courage in suffering, his power of making quips to the end, belong equally to Canon Ainger. The biographical preface to his edition of Hood's works was, he used to say, the best piece of work that he ever did; and he delighted in lending the book to those who, in his opinion, underrated Hood as a poet.

But Charles Lamb it was who brought him fame. Long before the publication of his biography of Lamb, indeed from boyhood onwards, he had devoted himself to Elia, had learned to know his haunts and the details

of his life. Probably he never enjoyed anything more than a trip he took to Nether Stowey in the company of Mr Dykes-Campbell, to live awhile near Myrtle Cottage, where Charles and Mary Lamb once stayed with Coleridge. And, most likely, he was as glad as Lamb to return again to town, for he did not like the country as much as he believed, and would always get into the train for London after any prolonged absence with an ejaculation of content. Of another pilgrimage that he made in search of Elia's Blakesmoor, and of the friendship that he formed there with the old lady who had known Lamb, he himself has left us a record—the last gift from his pen—in the pages of the 'Cornhill Magazine.' Another pleasant memory was that of the dinner given by the Dykes-Campbells in honour of his completed book—a banquet for which he composed the menu out of dishes mentioned by Lamb, with appropriate quotations for each. The bill of fare as it originally stood swelled to such dimensions that his hostess had to beg him to curtail it in consideration of the cook.

It was characteristic of Canon Ainger that he never allowed his wit and humour to enter into his sermons. It is easy to argue that the use of such gifts in preaching would have been justified by the increased power to attract and to hold attention. But his spiritual candour allowed of no casuistry; and his brilliancy was subject to his religion. In this Christian self-discipline he was not unlike his predecessor, Sydney Smith; and perhaps no sort of self-control is harder. Otherwise the whole man, with his inner life as we have been trying to depict it, is set before us in the volume of his Temple sermons which has lately made its appearance. 'Do not think me merely professional if I say that I regard my sermons as my chief work in life,' so he once said, as Mr Beeching tells us in the admirable preface to this book. No one who heard Canon Ainger will fail to realise the full force of the remark; and he himself has summed up his whole conception of preaching in a sermon that he gave upon the subject after Dr Vaughan's resignation of the Mastership in 1894.

'His method' (he says of St Paul) 'was not that of the bigot who, framing his message in the shortest possible terms, cries, "Take that and be saved; or reject it and be lost;"

For St Paul was a lover of men as well as a lover of God; though he could not have loved men so much had he not loved God more. His method, therefore, was not to present, as it were, a pistol to their breasts, but to commend to them the message he was charged with; to show its reasonableness, its necessity, its justice, as well as its beauty and its compassionateness, by appealing in turn as witnesses to every faculty of mind, heart, and spirit with which God had endowed them. For he had learned, as every faithful preacher must surely learn when in contact with a living, throbbing humanity, that his own soul, heart, and intellect must enter into the great work he is sent to do. He must be a preacher; but to be that he must be a teacher also. . . . He has to deal alternately with the highest mysteries of Christian theology, and with the humblest and most prosaic duties of the family and the home . . . to rebuke fiercely, without fear or favour; to exhort, to control, to plead, to touch the heart and the emotions, and to lift the hearer into the region of the divine by that noblest eloquence, the eloquence of a passionate enthusiasm for all that is lovely and of good report.'

Thus much for the preacher; what follows is for the congregation.

'Just as the eye must bring with it its power of seeing, so the ear must bring its power of hearing, which is but its will to hear. Believe it well—only the cold-hearted and unspiritual will underrate the office of the preacher. Only the fool and the flippant will laugh at it. For though there may be sermons that are perfunctory and unprofitable, still, just as we are not so illogical as to deny that we have learned from the poets because much poetry is mediocre, so we shall hardly decline to be thankful to the pulpit for its successes merely because of its many and inevitable failures.'

Canon Ainger disliked extremes. If his position had to be defined, we should say that he belonged to the old-fashioned Evangelical school of a day when its most marked characteristic was a deep but unaggressive piety. Very High churchmen and very Low churchmen were alike distasteful to him.

'The Low Church preachers are teaching a gospel of selfishness pure and simple. The High Church are crushing God's image under a heap of the dreariest symbolism. We want the kingdom of heaven preached. . . . The prate and chatter

of free-thought and late schools of biblical criticism is to me quite as offensive as any other cant; and I confess that the contemplation of it all drives me back to the simple friendship of Christ as the most perfect rest and relief.'

So he said when he was about twenty years old; and the words hold good of his attitude throughout his life, and epitomise the substance of much that was developed in his sermons. Perhaps one of the finest of these is the one upon Wiclif—his gift of the English Bible to us, his creation of poor parish priests, his character and the way in which, despite apparent failure for the moment, it lived on in the Protestants of the Reformation.

It is interesting to compare his ideas upon the Reformation with those of Bishop Creighton, whose recently published letters reiterate his belief that there need have been no break of continuity in the Church; and that, had the Pope renounced his encroachments upon the temporal power, religion might have been reformed without a complete division. Canon Ainger, on the contrary, upheld the necessity of a radical separation, and believed in it as the only means of asserting man's spiritual responsibility and establishing the right relation between the soul and its Maker. From his days at Cambridge to those at the Temple he liked to dwell upon this conviction.

'The emerging from darkness into light disclosed to men many things besides their true relation to their God' (so he wrote in his youth). 'You know my favourite old doctrine that true faith instantly places a man, as it were, on a height from which he has an infinitely wider view than the many who are wandering through life without a clue. The Bible was a key to an infinite number of problems.'

His sermon upon Wiclif is his last statement of the same view. But

'what interested him most in religion' (as Canon Beeching says) 'was the character of Christ; and the Christian faith presented itself to him as the God-appointed means for bringing that influence to bear upon the hurrying, unsure minds of men. The sermons headed "Christ before Christianity" and "Life through the Only Begotten Son of God" will make clear the theological position that was peculiarly his own; but his strongest message lies in the application of the Gospel to our

common daily duties, and his all-pervading aim is to get down to the real facts of human life and to present them *sub specie eternitatis*.

His spiritual humility was, after all, the sweetest and most lovable thing in him. The evil that perhaps he warred most against and thought the worst danger of our times was arrogance of intellect. One of the finest sermons in this volume, 'The life was the light of men,' deals with this subject.

'It is thus' (he says) . . . 'that we are seeking to reverse these words of St John, and to say "the light was the life of men," instead of "the life was the light." And this is no jugglery of words, no nice distinction of priests or meta-physicians. "Life" is a greater thing than "light," for life is light transmuted into action. Between light and life there may be yet a great gulf fixed, because the one vital step has yet to be taken. . . . Light shows us a beautiful picture—one painted with divine truth and in divine colours; but it remains, or may remain, a mere picture, beautiful indeed, and by all men to be admired, until we have welcomed it and adopted it and taken it to live within our own affections and our own conscience. It is the Pygmalion statue, cold and dead as stone, until we have fallen in love with it; then, and only then, it warms into life—a breathing, moving, energising source of all future life and growth for ourselves and for others. Yes, for others; and here again is shown one vital difference between life and light. Light, if it try to live alone, may serve only to separate us from our fellows. Light without love may make us feel only our difference from our brethren, and plunge us into something like intellectual scorn or, at best, social intolerance towards others. . . . A great deal of love may lift the soul to heaven, though accompanied by very little light; whereas a great deal of light, with very little love, may leave the soul still in outer darkness.'

Of Canon Ainger's charm as a preacher—and we use the word charm in its most spiritual sense—of his low, clear, vibrating tones, swift to change and to thrill, yet kept within due limits like fine music; of his harmonious presence, fraught with the dignity of soul; of the expressive gesture, rare enough, of his hand, it is hard to give any impression excepting to those who heard him, and they need no reminder. These, too, will recall his memorable reading of the Lessons, his devout joy in

the church music, which he made his especial care. All who have watched him, at concerts or in private, listening to great composers—the most melodious ones for choice—can realise the high and holy pleasure that this part of the service gave him. Music ever remained his favourite language, whether in the Temple or outside it.

We may end with some words spoken by him about Dr Vaughan, his predecessor in the Mastership, which apply equally to himself, and sum up the qualities that we have been contemplating.

‘Putting on one side . . . the unfailing freshness of thought and treatment; the grace, always dignified and elevated . . . putting, I say, on one side these partly intellectual endowments, which never in themselves alone could win and retain the allegiance of the hearer, may I not speak of those “yet more excellent gifts,” the deep understanding of the human heart, the singular power of reading the conscience, the detecting of the many sophistries of the human will, the laying of the hand on them, never without tenderness, with “here thou ailest, and here,” and last, but surely not least among such gifts, the rare and blessed one of moderation, seeking ever to avoid the falsehood of extremes.’

Such a passage demands no comment, and forms in itself the fittest ending to a study of Canon Ainger’s personality.

EDITH SICHEL.

Art. VIII.—THE DIRECTION AND METHOD OF EDUCATION.

1. *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools, with Schedules*, 1904. [Cd. 2074.]
2. *Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of Students in Training Colleges*, 1904. [Cd. 2134.]
3. *Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers*, 1904-5. [Cd. 2140.]
4. *Regulations for Evening Schools, Technical Institutions, and Schools of Art and Art Classes*, 1904-5. [Cd. 2172.]
5. *General Reports on Higher Education, with Appendices for the year 1902*. [Cd. 1738.]
6. *A selection of Circular Letters of the Scotch Education Department, 1898-1904, with Explanatory Memorandum*. [Cd. 2077.]
7. *Report for the Year 1904*. By Sir Henry Craik, K.C.B. [Cd. 2224.]
8. *Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool, including the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools*. By Michael E. Sadler. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904.
9. *The Education Acts of 1902 and 1903, with the Revised Text of the Education Acts 1870-1899*. Edited by G. R. S. Taylor. London: Routledge, 1903.
10. *School*. Edited by Laurie Magnus. Vols I and II. London: Murray, 1904.

FORTY years ago Matthew Arnold wrote an essay on 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time.' He reminded his readers that

'epochs of concentration cannot well endure for ever; epochs of expansion, in the due course of things, follow them. Such an epoch of expansion seems to be opening in this country. In the first place, all danger of a hostile, forcible pressure of foreign ideas upon our practice has long disappeared; like the traveller in the fable, therefore, we begin to wear our cloak a little more loosely. Then, with a long peace, the ideas of Europe steal gradually and amicably in, and mingle, though in infinitesimally small quantities at a time, with our own notions.'

Accordingly, we loosened our cloak and took our ease for forty years. We sat at the feet of foreign doctors. We suffered a forest of reports on foreign systems and examples to spread itself about us. We were dosed, largely or minutely, according to the stoutness of our fibre, with foreign ideas. We discovered the genus and *differentia* of an *école primaire supérieure*; we found out the latitude and longitude of a *technische Hochschule* on the map of municipal education, and when a Swiss learns to read, and how a Swede learns to run. Two continents have been ransacked in that period by the British army of expansion. Successive Governments have been backed by private parties of adventure, of which the latest in time, and perhaps the greatest in enterprise, is the expedition fitted out by Sir Alfred Moseley 'to ascertain how far education in the United States is responsible for her industrial progress.'

Thus, during the 'epoch of expansion,' we have gathered sheaves of information. The question is, what to do with them. To-day we cannot congratulate ourselves on the dawn of 'a long peace.' To-day we cannot contemplate with equanimity the continued assimilation of 'foreign ideas.' The ideas of Europe to-day are ideas of aggression and envy. In an era of war and rumours of war it is no longer fitting that we should cultivate the large indifference, the spacious security, the charitable diffuseness to which Matthew Arnold looked for the correction of the narrowness of his own generation. In education, at any rate, a close time would seem to be at hand. With the swing of the pendulum, an epoch of concentration is due; and the Matthew Arnold of our day would warn us to wear our cloak a little closely.

Concentration and application are always the most difficult part of reform. History, written and unwritten, is full of instances of reforms which, however splendidly conceived, have failed in the effort of execution. To 'ride abroad redressing human wrongs' might have been an ideal in days of chivalry; in these more complex times such a programme is no longer practical. The reformer may ride abroad; a grateful sovereign may even knight him on his return; but there the likeness ceases. Between the commission of enquiry and the legislative redress there stretches a weary period of

parliamentary debate, with all the accompanying evils of public misconception and impatience. In education especially, as Matthew Arnold noted in another place, the British public is exposed 'to questions of religious politics, so attractive to the middle-class Englishman, so fatally apt to divert his mind from what is the point of cardinal importance for him, the one thing needful.' The Board of Education tell us in their Report for 1904—surely the first occasion on which controversial theology has ruffled the surface of a Blue-book—that

'some special difficulties have been experienced in certain places by the Local Authorities in dealing with . . . the Managers of Voluntary Schools. . . . Relations, complicated in themselves, are unhappily further embarrassed in some parts of the country by religious difficulties.'

So Mr Morant at Whitehall signs memorandum after memorandum, each surpassing its predecessor in enlightened counsels of action, while Radical members and their friends try to render the Act of 1902 inoperative. Passive resistance and the Welsh revolt are the most conspicuous results of thought directed to the improvement of our national education and to our better ability to cope with the polyglot foreigner. Angry ratepayers invade the precincts sacred to the schoolmaster; and the last link which connects the eager child with the State is forged by the hammer of the auctioneer.

Education has two main aspects, which require to be sharply differentiated in any discussion of the subject. The first aspect is that of educational machinery, the second that of educational method. The machinery of education has received increasing attention during the past thirty or forty years, culminating in the series of enactments passed during the administrations of the late Lord Salisbury and of Mr Balfour, and reflecting, in our opinion, much credit and distinction on a Government which has been distracted by the demise of the Crown, by a prolonged war, and, latterly, by party dissensions leading to deeper cleavages than any cause since Home Rule. The five years of British history from 1899 to 1904 will probably be commemorated in the text-books as the epoch of Queen Victoria's death, of the

struggle for the possession of South Africa, and of Mr Chamberlain's protectionist campaign. But the social historian will but ill perform his task if he fail to take account of the educational record of those years. The Board of Education Act of 1899, the Education Act of 1902, and the Education (London) Act of 1903, constitute a considerable achievement in a period when other occupations did not leave the Government idle, and in a field where the interest of the public, rent already by differences of opinion on the gravest matters of policy, is notoriously difficult to conciliate.

The reform of educational machinery is written on the statute-book and lends itself readily to review. The reform of educational method is a more complex business. It depends mainly on the personnel of those in authority; and its records are to be sought, not in the legislation of the country, but in less accessible Blue-books and other official documents of the central Board of Education, and of local committees and subcommittees. Consequently its measure of success is not so easily to be estimated. An approximate estimate can be formed by considering the aims of the Board in connexion with the performance of the committees; and here we are helped in a marked degree by a series of memoranda issued by the secretary to the Board of Education during 1904. With the publication of the revised edition of each annual code or set of regulations in the various departments of the work of the Board, the secretary wrote last year a kind of encyclical letter, in the form of a 'Prefatory Memorandum,' to explain its changes and to accompany its programme. We have before us no less than five of these documents, signed at various dates between May and July 1904; and the authorities would confer a boon on diligent seekers after enlightenment if they would publish these secretarial prefaces in a volume by themselves, much in the same way as Mr Graham Murray, at Dover House, has published 'A selection of Circular Letters of the Scotch Education Department, 1898-1904,' to the delight of all who have followed at all closely the admirable work which was done in that direction during Sir Henry Craik's régime. Finally, the prefatory memoranda, as described above, are still to be reinforced by a long delayed volume of 'Suggestions for

the Consideration of Teachers in Public Elementary Schools,' in which the problems of method will be discussed in a practical manner, and hints and information will be given to teachers to aid them in carrying out their duties. This series of instructions from the headquarters staff at Whitehall and South Kensington must be compared with the records of results contained in such documents as Professor M. E. Sadler's 'Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool,' and in the quarterly or annual publications of the various educational committees throughout the country, in order to arrive at a general view of the progress of educational method.

Before we go on to this consideration, however, it is only just to turn to what was said above as to the influence of personnel in this branch of national education. The appointment of Mr Robert Morant to replace Sir George Kekewich at the Board was much criticised at the time. Mr Morant had been in the service of the department; he was known to have advised the Duke of Devonshire during the legislation of 1899, and to have acted in a confidential capacity towards Mr Balfour during the preparation of the still more important Bill of 1902. But what the public hardly yet know, and these documents should help them to realise, is that the country possesses in Mr Morant a true educational administrator, a patient and hard-working public servant, gifted with imagination, energy, and practical ability, who is likely, when Wales is quiescent and lesser opponents cease to trouble, to do first-rate work in revising and improving our methods of education. His appointment transposes the key, so to speak, of the Act of 1899. That Act, as was freely stated at the time, was purely official. It abolished the Committee of the Privy Council which was created in 1839 to supervise the distribution of certain parliamentary grants, and in which Sir John Gorst was the last in the series of vice-presidents who for sixty years had discharged the functions of a Minister of Education. It replaced the Committee of the Council by a Board of Education, with a president (now Lord Londonderry), a parliamentary secretary (Sir W. R. Anson), a permanent secretary (Mr Morant) and staff, and a consultative committee, of which, perhaps, we do not hear enough. So far, there is nothing to show that the Board

of Education Act, 1899, meant more than a change of nomenclature. The committee called itself a board; the vice-president called himself a secretary; and the requirements of education were satisfied. Mr Morant's term of office, short though it has been as yet, has rebutted such criticism. He has made the change effective, not nominal; and the difference between now and then is not merely a difference of names. If personality is a factor to be taken into account in a discussion of educational method, the presence of Mr Morant at the Board of Education supplies a factor of prime importance.

Recent legislation had a double objective. It aimed, first, at concentrating authority in efficient hands at headquarters, and then, after the establishment of firm control, at the delegation of power to efficient local authorities. A third task is involved in these aims; but for this task legislation is unfortunately not competent. It would have been desirable to see the devolution of function accompanied by an awakening of the public consciousness to a sense of educational responsibility. At Whitehall Mr Morant may be said to be acting as keeper of the conscience to the Board of Education; it must be added with regret that the country, as a whole, has not been aroused to the need of developing a conscience in these matters. Released officials—a class of freedmen very conspicuous just now in English politics—such as Mr Michael Sadler, Sir John Gorst, and, the latest recruit, Sir Henry Craik, are working in this direction; and some of the professional papers have attempted to rise to the occasion. 'Education' publishes long reports of county and borough proceedings; and 'School' was founded in January 1904 with a view to meeting the need for an educational paper which should treat education as an object of national interest and concern. But, apart from these and the older journals, the twin forces of concentration and delegation require for complete efficiency the trained co-operation of the public. Without it the success of the Acts must be difficult and slow. There must inevitably be wanting the vivid quickening force which animates the scattered parts and helps the organism, in Mr Kipling's phrase, to find itself. Contrast, for instance, the public history of the two movements of recent months—education and

tariff reform. Not all the eloquence of statesmen, not all the 'revelations' of Blue-books, not all the thunder of the press could kindle in the country the true fire of enthusiasm on the educational question. Public interest in education strayed into side issues, flickered dully to indifference, leapt to a moment's vigour on a quasi-religious topic, then died again in laughter; it never really grasped the essential matter at stake as it seized the vital issue underlying the voluminous *dossier* on the tariff-reform question. There were no catchwords in educational reform. No ingenious orator displayed the two children of his imagination to a responsive audience, coextensive with the country—the child starved of learning and the child fed and taught by the state. The loaf-idea caught the country and lent a human interest to politics; the child-idea left it cold.

We are presented, accordingly, with a system of national education the contractors for which were confronted with the old puzzle of the Israelites—how to make bricks without straw. They had to build for the public good without the sympathy of the public; the Government had to consult the interests of the country despite the ignorance or indifference of its representatives in Parliament. In such circumstances there is bound to be something lacking in the result; and the wonder is, perhaps, not that so little is effected, but that the disheartening experience has led to so few mistakes. Another mitigating cause, which critics should take into account, is that the Government did not have a free hand. The authors of the Act of 1899 were reformers, not innovators. An ideal commonwealth might conceivably have been equipped with a better apparatus of educational machinery than was forged by Lord Salisbury's last administration out of the heterogeneous elements which were, till then, at work. A system which had been suffered to adapt itself to the growing needs of the nation during two generations, and which had included the benefit of nine tenths of the dues of the Customs and Excise Act of 1890, was not easy to re-organise, either on its administrative or on its financial side. Vested interests, use and wont, even sentiment, affected the policy of the reformers; and those who look back to-day from the orderly Board of Education, exer-

cising supreme control over secondary and elementary education, with its president and secretaries, its efficient staff, its consultative committee, and its register of teachers, to the old days of mismanagement at South Kensington and disorganisation at Whitehall, find it hard to realise the completeness of the change.

With these reservations, it is now appropriate to consider the Act of 1899 in relation to the Acts of 1902-1903, and to the work of the Board since April 1, 1900, when the provisions of the Act came into force. The statute 62 and 63 Victoria, cap. 33, contains only nine clauses, of which the last five are purely formal. The first states that 'There shall be established a Board of Education charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales.' This Board, in accordance with clause 2,

'shall take the place of the Education Department (including the Department of Science and Art), and . . . it shall be lawful . . . to transfer to, or make exercisable by, the Board of Education any of the powers of the Charity Commissioners or of the Board of Agriculture in matters appearing . . . to relate to education.'

Thus the mixed control, and consequently overlapping powers, of various government departments were drawn out of the chaos into which they had lapsed and were duly handed over to a single central authority responsible to the country for all 'matters relating to education.' The inspection of secondary schools by the Board and the establishment of its consultative committee were the chief remaining contents of the Act which placed England and Wales, for the first time, on a level with continental countries in regard to state control.

'I have attempted to sketch in outline the plan of reorganisation for English instruction which is suggested almost irresistibly by a study of public instruction in other European countries, and of the actual condition and prospects of the modern world. The reorganisation proposed will to many people in England appear chimerical. Yet I have a profound conviction that, if our country is destined, as I trust it is destined, still to live and prosper, the next quarter of a century will see a reconstruction of English education as entire as that which I have recommended in these remarks,

however impossible such a reconstruction may to many now seem.'

The prophet was Matthew Arnold; the date was 1868; and the words quoted are from the conclusion of his 'Higher Schools and Universities in Germany.' He was only six years out in his reckoning.

Reconstruction on paper is one thing; a working system is another. Matthew Arnold, again, in his 'French Eton,' forecasts the requisite means of turning theory into practice.

'By really agreeing to deal in our collective and corporate character with education, we can form ourselves into the best and most efficient of voluntary societies for managing it. We can make State-action upon it a genuine local government of it, the faithful but potent expression of our own activity. We can make the central government that mere court of disinterested review and correction which every sensible man would always be glad to have for his own activity.'

In this passage is contained, by a happy prevision, the relation of the Acts of 1902-3 to the Act of 1899. The statute 2 Edward VII, cap. 42—the Education Act, 1902—is a much larger affair than the measure which we have just reviewed. It extends to twenty-seven clauses, with four schedules or appendices. It repeals the whole of the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891, two clauses of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, as well as many sections of the Elementary Education Acts of 1870, '73, '74, '76, '80, '90, '91, '93, '97, '99, and 1900, of the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, and of the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897. Let us go back for a moment to the legislation of 1899. On April 1, 1900, there came into operation a new central authority, 'charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales.' But these 'matters relating to education' were by no means of a kind readily to submit to superintendence. The mere recital of the Acts of Parliament which it was necessary to repeal, in whole or in part, before order and system could be introduced, shows that the new Board of Education would have entered into an inheritance of chaos and anarchy unless a method had been devised of bringing 'matters relating to education' within its sphere of operations.

The Act of 1902 was the first in our statute-books, as Mr Taylor reminds us, to deal with these matters together. For the first time we find the three grades of instruction included in the scope of a single Act of Parliament. This is, historically speaking, the significance of the Act in the annals of English education; and it may confidently be stated that, whatever chances or changes await our educational system, the country will never abandon the position taken in 1902. It will never go back from the long deferred principle of unity in control. The old, partial, haphazard method disappeared with the Acts repealed.

The progress in administrative method marked by the Act of 1902 corresponds in statesmanlike conception to the importance of the measure in the history of education. It carries out Matthew Arnold's prediction of making 'state action upon it a genuine local government of it'—how genuine the future must determine. It utilises for this purpose existing councils and committees, and it strictly confines its scope to education as a matter of local government. This Act and the London Act of 1903 were constructive administrative measures. They constituted local education authorities in order to enable the Board to exercise a 'superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales.' No new bodies were created for this purpose. By section 1 of the 1902 Act 'the council of every county and of every county-borough shall be the local education authority.' The proviso as to borough or urban district councils need not be recited here; the essential point to be noted is the foundation of a relationship between the Minister of Education in London and the 128 councils created by the Local Government Act of 1888, and directly representing the local electorate in each instance.

A second principle of the new legislation is manifest here in the disappearance of the specific educational bodies formerly known as School Boards. We do not propose to discuss the various problems which result from their disappearance. These problems in their nature are temporary and evanescent; in many districts they belong already to past history; in others they are moving into that phase; they must reach it eventually in all. The principle itself is sound enough, if for no

other reason than because it is always bad economy to put the purse into the hands of specialists. The place for special knowledge is at the centre of the system; and the extra work thrown on the authorities at Whitehall is compensated by the release of local electorates from the burden of an *ad hoc* poll and from the extravagance of an *ad hoc* committee. In London the County Council has succeeded to the extinct School Board; its educational policy forms a part of the general work of local government; the debates are governed by the same rules; and already a sense of proportion in municipal affairs has begun to reassure the ratepayers. The London body has further earned the confidence of the public by its wise choice of officials. These include Dr Garnett, a member of the old Technical Education Board; Dr C. W. Kimmins; Mr Blair, formerly of Dublin; and Mr Frederick Rose, sometime H.M. Consul at Stuttgart, and author of some of the ablest consular reports on education. Throughout the country, too, the abolition of the School Boards has been effected with a minimum of annoyance; and the services of admirably qualified men have in most cases been secured as county directors of education. Thus the specialists in each locality have become the paid servants of the local authority—a principle of democratic government which it will be difficult to improve. We are consciously giving high praise to a series of enactments which the opponents of the present Government have loaded with abuse, and the merits of which have been obscured by certain incidental drawbacks readily liable to exaggeration. But Acts of Parliament which have the courage to enforce sound principles of reform deserve at least the credit of their achievement. We believe that the national welfare is already feeling the benefit of the Acts of 1902-3; we are convinced that the lapse of time and a fair experience of their working will prove the wisdom and foresight of their authors.

We are still discussing the machinery of education, and it may be stated with little fear of contradiction that much of the recent legislation is still very imperfectly understood. The debates in Parliament tended rather to obscure the issues than to explain them; and it will not be out of place to take note of one or two features. The Act of 1902 is divided into four parts. The first, with

which we have dealt, constitutes the local authority. Part ii deals with 'education other than elementary,' part iii with elementary education, and part iv with education committees in general, with expenses, borrowing powers, and so forth. We reproduce here the essential words of the opening clauses of part ii and part iii respectively (sect. 2 (1), and sect. 5), in order to point out, by the use of italics, a somewhat important difference. The first passage runs as follows:—

'The local education authority *shall consider* the educational needs of their area *and take such steps as seem to them desirable*, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of *education other than elementary*, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education.'

The second passage runs thus:—

'The local education authority *shall throughout their area have the powers and duties of a school board and school attendance committee under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1900, and any other Acts . . . and shall also be responsible for and have the control of all secular instruction in public elementary schools not provided by them; and school boards and school attendance committees shall be abolished.*

The words underlined are significant, inasmuch as the duty in the one case is optional and in the other is compulsory. The local authorities *must* assume control over elementary instruction; they *may* take steps to supply education, other than elementary, after consultation with the central authority; and it is extremely noteworthy how general has been the desire to take advantage of these powers. The powers, appropriately enough, are wider in the first case than in the second; 'supply or aid the supply' is a less definite instruction than that relating to elementary schools. The evasion of a definite epithet for secondary or higher education—'education other than elementary'—is also to be remarked; and time might be spent in discussing the new departure involved in placing the 'control' of secular instruction in non-provided schools in the hands of the council authorities while leaving a residue of 'management' in the managers' hands. But we do not propose to drag the voluntary schools question into the scope of this review. The programme which we

have set ourselves is already wide enough. It is to estimate the value of recent educational reform through the two aspects of machinery and method. At this point it will be convenient briefly to summarise the results of our consideration of the former.

1. The State Department for Education has been organised in all its branches. There are a Minister of Education, a permanent secretary and staff, and a consultative committee.

2. The Board of Education is charged with the superintendence of 'matters relating to education in England and Wales,' and has power to inspect secondary schools.

3. Parliament makes no distinction in administration between elementary education and 'education other than elementary.'

4. The machinery of education has been municipalised for the purposes of local control. The powers of existing local government representative bodies have been extended to include educational control, and existing *ad hoc* educational representative bodies have consequently disappeared.

5. The local government authorities are responsible for elementary education, and shall consider, and may take steps to supply, secondary and higher education.

6. Secular instruction in non-provided schools passes into the hands of the same bodies.

So much for the machinery of education, as affected by the enactments of 1899 to 1904. Meanwhile, there are the teacher and the child, whose particular interests and share in educational reform are not very clearly promoted by these purely administrative articles. The problems of the teacher and the child are primarily problems of method. Success in dealing with them depends on the less measurable qualities of sympathy and imagination, as well as an intelligent knowledge, adaptive as well as assimilative, of what is best in foreign practice. The aim is to widen the opportunities; to give every child in the country the widest possible opportunity of self-development and improvement; to leave as little room as imperfect human conditions permit for the reproach that a child 'never had a fair chance'; to minimise the disabilities of criminal or unhealthy early surroundings, physical or moral evil

tendencies, poverty, and lowly station; to build a ladder from the slum to the university; to spread the blessing of education, so that defective educational opportunities may be excluded from the list of possible causes for the failure of the country in any department of national welfare or international competition.

At the same time the needs of State must be kept steadily in view. To put it negatively, it is as little the object of the State to train a generation of commercial experts as it is to risk, by default of education, the rise of a race of criminals. German example is perhaps misleading at this point. The unverified conclusion roughly drawn by the public from consular and other reports on educational progress in Germany suggests a kind of materialised Utopia, in which every boy is born a bank-clerk and every girl a typist. Such a conclusion is fallacious, and the reaction may be exaggerated. There is a way of looking at commerce which touches chords as responsive to a noble ideal as any on the keyboard of the old classical curriculum. Even rows of figures in a ledger may stimulate the intellectual and moral imagination, if the clerk is trained to see his work in the perspective of his country's destiny, its historical development, and its geographical conditions, as well as to do that work with care and despatch. This is the way of looking at commerce which inspires recent educational foundations such as the Commercial College in Leipsic; and it is far too early at present to encourage a reaction from that standard. The right view is clearly stated by Mr Sadler in his report on education in Liverpool, where he succeeds with rare skill in adapting to the needs of his own country—in this instance, of one city in that country—his unrivalled stores of knowledge concerning foreign methods and appliances.

'The more likely' (he writes) 'that a boy's future life-work is to absorb him in questions which necessarily have some sordid sides, the more need is there to insist that throughout his education there shall be a strong vein of idealism. . . . At bottom, the business relations of a great commercial city with the outside world are human relations. In no education, therefore, is it more necessary than in the education of a commercial community to give a large place to the vivid and real teaching of the humanities.'

Success, then, in commercial competition is by no means the prime ulterior object of state intervention in education. Herbert Spencer's aphorism is appropriate here: 'To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge'; and 'complete living' includes much more than ability in business. The State must set forth on a higher plane of argument altogether; a broader view must be taken than that of the unverified conclusion which we noted above. Here, for the first time in the history of our educational department, we are helped by a Blue-book issued by the Board of Education. The new 'Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools' (1904) contains an 'Introduction,' extremely useful in this context, which honourably distinguishes the present issue from previous codes, and supplies us with an official statement of the object of the State in education. The purpose of the public elementary school is therein defined as 'to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it,' so as to assist them 'to fit themselves practically, as well as intellectually, for the work of life.' They are to be trained 'in habits of observation and clear reasoning'; they are to become acquainted 'with some of the facts and laws of nature'; to learn to take 'a living interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind,' and in the 'literature and history of their own country.' Their mother-tongue is to be used by them as 'an instrument of thought and expression'; the 'activities of hand and eye' are to be suitably encouraged; 'appropriate physical exercises' and the 'simpler laws of health' are to form part of the training; and 'it will be an important though subsidiary object of the school to discover individual children who show promise of exceptional capacity,' and to qualify them for secondary instruction. All this is novel in its place and purpose; but the most noteworthy paragraph follows and deserves to be quoted in full:—

'Though their opportunities are but brief, the teachers can yet do much to lay the foundations of conduct. They can endeavour, by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline which should pervade the School, to implant in the children habits of industry, self-control, and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties; they can teach them to reverence what is noble, to be ready for self-sacrifice, and to

strive their utmost after purity and truth; they can foster a strong respect for duty, and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners; while the corporate life of the School, especially in the playground, should develop that instinct for fair-play and for loyalty to one another which is the germ of a wider sense of honour in later life.'

This has been said before by other people in other places. The late Bishop Creighton, for instance, said it in 1894 to his clergy at Peterborough. 'Every child,' he reminded them, 'carries away from school at least a sense of discipline. With a little personal care this might be maintained against the temptations of a precocious freedom.' But it had never yet been said by the State in its educational capacity. In 1904, for the first time, it was put in the forefront of the official code, as the expression of the awakened conscience of the responsible Board of Education. Henceforth the 'foundations of conduct' form a part of the curriculum in schools which hitherto had directed their educational policy towards earning a grant.

The Board, as we have seen, is charged with 'matters relating to education'; and what is true of its aim in a single branch of this activity will be found to be true of it as a whole. If the recent administrative policy of the whole of the Board's work had to be compressed into one sentence, it would be that co-ordination of effort depends upon a clear differentiation of function. For this reason the central authority has been trying to classify the different aims of elementary schools, secondary schools, evening schools, and technical institutes, as well as to define more clearly what is to be aimed at in educating pupil-teachers, and likewise the object of training-colleges, whose task it is to educate persons, themselves but half-educated, who aspire to teach others, and to give them some professional training. In this differentiation of function, as a preliminary to the co-ordination of effort, lies the key to the memoranda issued by Mr Morant to which we referred above. These fall here into their places as mete-rods in a staked-out claim—the memoranda of a survey which is to lead to a successful cultivation of the field. It is the fashion to attack this method by talking of 'delimitation' and

'water-tight compartments,' of 'shutting off the rise of a promising student,' and so forth. But such criticism is quite unfair; it is not the student who is 'delimited,' but a particular function is being allotted to each of the various institutions.

The prefatory memorandum to the 'Regulations for Secondary Schools,' dated June 14, 1904, is of vital importance from this point of view. It insists that

'in order to arrive at a proper differentiation of functions, it is important, for purposes of central and of local administration, and in particular for considering and properly planning courses of instruction, to distinguish Secondary Schools, on the one hand, from Technical Institutes and Classes which devote themselves mainly to giving specialised instruction and training in certain subjects to young persons and adults who should previously have completed a sound general education, and, on the other, from Evening Schools and Classes which, though they may offer instruction to some students in subjects of a general kind and to others in subjects of Art or of pure and applied Science, do not provide a consecutive and complete course of general education to be followed by each student who attends the School.'

Three principles are enunciated as essential to the course of instruction which shall qualify a day or boarding-school to be described as secondary. First, the instruction must be general; next, it must be complete; thirdly, it must be graded in its various branches. Subject to these axioms, the new regulations are framed with a view to 'leaving greater freedom than hitherto for schools to frame curricula of varying kinds, as may be required or rendered profitable by local conditions'; and a like regard for the need of elasticity is to be marked in the following sentence:—

'In order to meet . . . the danger of forcing a particular kind of school on a locality for which it is not suitable, and the danger of that premature specialisation which is destructive of real progress, the Board have materially modified the rules under which schools of this type may be recognised and conducted.'

Almost equally significant in this context are the new 'Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of Students in Training Colleges.' It is the

object of the Board to make these institutions effective centres for teaching how to teach, instead of places for the further education of half-educated persons. Mr Morant's prefatory memorandum to the document is dated June 23, 1904. In it a clear distinction is drawn between the different kinds of students who frequent the training colleges and the different courses of study which they require. Further, as the memorandum states,

'not less important than the framing of courses of study which shall be thoroughly suitable to the several requirements of the various students in Training Colleges, is the manner in which the college staff treat the several branches of the approved courses of study. Much of the instruction which is given in all subjects must necessarily be founded upon the statements and the experience of other persons; but every education which deserves to be called complete must include some training of the student in those systematic methods of enquiry which are necessary for any assured advance in knowledge, and which are the most truly educative of all mental processes. . . . When Matthew Arnold declared in 1868 that the want of the idea of science, of systematic knowledge, was the capital want of English education and of English life, he was thinking of science as a method and not as a prescribed portion or subject of a curriculum. It cannot be doubted that this want has been seriously prevalent in a large portion of the education and training hitherto provided for Elementary School Teachers.'

We cannot enter here into the details of method discussed in these regulations, though we admire sincerely the recommendations as to the History course, which should be used to develop the students' 'historic sense,' and as to the teaching of Languages and of Natural Science ('often called "Nature Study"'), as well as the rescript on professional training. But a special welcome is due to the remarks on the teaching of Literature.

'The time devoted by the student to text-books dealing with literature, however exact and complete, is little more profitable than that devoted to verbal and grammatical commentary, if he is thereby prevented from access to the works of great writers, and consequently from all independent effort to realise for himself that in which their enduring value consists.'

Accordingly, the alternative courses of study in English

Language and Literature include 'books for general reading' as well as 'books for detailed study'; and the whole subject is to be studied in connexion with the corresponding period in the History course. This increased emphasis laid in last year's memoranda on the importance of the study of English is likewise a mark of the reports and recommendations of the Scottish department in its several grades; and it is a feature of American education which is developed to a high degree. It is to be greeted here as a good sign for the future, when 'complete living' will more and more require quickness of grasp, readiness of expression, clearness of arrangement, and that generalising faculty without which all learning is pedantry.

In this work of reforming the methods of education which the Board have undertaken so courageously and with so comprehensive an aim, delay and disappointment are inevitable. The urgent necessity of tackling the problems of machinery arising daily and hourly out of legal points in the new Acts has hampered the Board considerably. As time goes on, and the political situation improves, and as the Consultative Committee becomes a little less timorous in its recommendations to the Board, the directions from headquarters are likely to grow more effective. On the other hand, it is fair to the Board and not harsh to the public to add that, if politico-ecclesiastical considerations—the fatal lure of British public life—are imported afresh into the House of Commons, the result must be that the reform of method will be indefinitely postponed. Already the 'Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers in Public Elementary Schools,' which were promised in May, and were looked for in October, though known probably in proof form to a small section of the profession, are still overdue; and primary scholars are still deprived of the benefit of the new ideas as to arithmetic, English, geography, and the knowledge of common things which, among other branches of instruction, are likely to be discussed in this belated Blue-book. The remedy for the delay lies with the public itself. We shall not be exaggerating the gravity of this consideration if we add that the recrudescence of the education question in party politics

will deeply injure the cause of national education, which its champions are supposed to have at heart.

Fortunately the responsibility for reform is not confined to the Board of Education. The Board would be the first to recognise that their efforts require, as a first condition of success, the intelligent co-operation of the local committees throughout the country. The future of the nation's educational charter is in the hands of these committees. The proceedings of the London County Council Education Committee, over which Sir William Collins presides, are reported in the daily papers, and are doubtless followed with some attention by the ratepayers of London. Quite recently the committee have devised a new scheme of county scholarships which they expressly describe as 'a result of the Education Acts of 1902-3.' They propose that the Council should aim at selecting annually, at the age of eleven or twelve, between two thousand and three thousand of the ablest children in the London public elementary schools as junior county scholars. Such scholarships would confer free education in an approved secondary school, and would be tenable, subject to good conduct, till the end of the school year in which the scholar reaches fourteen years of age. Under certain conditions they would then be renewable for two more years, when the scholar should either pass on to an intermediate county scholarship or to a training college and to a pupil-teachership in the service of the Council. There are certain obvious objections to this scheme. The number of scholars contemplated is almost unduly large; the aim seems rather to recruit the teaching profession than to improve the education of the children of London; and exception may be taken to the sentence, 'As the requirements of the elementary schools compel the Council to pick out twice as many girls as boys, the scholarship standard may probably have to be lower in their case.' On the other hand, praise is due to the proposed method of examination, which is to be a test of capacity rather than a scrutiny of attainment—a fresh sign, by the way, of the renaissance of humanism in English education. The eventual cost of the scheme, which will reach completion in five years, is computed at 275,200*l.* a year.

Education committees outside the London area have, in a sense, more novel functions than the committee of

the London County Council, which has succeeded to the duties of the School Board for London. At least their work demands qualities of mind and action which are more commonly trained in the capital than in the provinces. Many years have passed since John Stuart Mill wrote:—

‘It is quite hopeless to induce persons of a high class, either socially or intellectually, to take a share of local administration in a corner by piecemeal, as members of a Paving Board or a Drainage Committee. The entire local business is not more than a sufficient object to induce them to become members of a mere local body.’

But it is only within the last year that Mill's condition has been fulfilled by the inclusion of education among the functions of the same local bodies which take charge of the roads and the drains. Thus, it is not surprising that the new era in local government should be still but imperfectly understood, and that the country as a whole should fail to pay attention to the work of the 334 education committees formed to administer the Act. From one point of view this is a gain. It is not altogether undesirable that the committees responsible for the local control of national education should be suffered to make their experiments and, it may be, their mistakes, without further direct interference than that which is supplied by the Board of Education at one end of the scale and by the ratepayers at the other. At the same time, recognition is encouraging; and a comparison of results may lead to an economy of effort.

One such comparative result may be selected here. We remarked above that the training-college problem is the most urgent with which the Board of Education has to deal. The function of a training college is to provide professional training; and no defect is more conspicuous in the whole system of the Board than the inadequate supply of efficiently trained teachers for the elementary schools. It is interesting to note the local aspects of this problem. The authorities at Manchester write, in their second annual Report, dated October 26, 1904:—

‘Much may be hoped from the effect of the new regulations . . . which had already been anticipated by this Committee, and provision made for bringing them into effect early in the ensuing year.’ In the opinion of the committee,

'it is most desirable that measures should immediately be taken to make provision for securing an automatic supply of properly trained certificated teachers for the Public Elementary Schools.'

About 300 bursaries (80 for boys and 220 for girls) will accordingly be established in March, and will be awarded, on the results of a public examination, to candidates willing to become pupil teachers. These bursaries will be tenable in secondary or other day-schools; an examination of bursars about to complete their course will be held each May; and in the following August the selected candidates will be engaged as pupil teachers for a period of two years. Similarly, the committee recommend 'that provision should be made in the first instance in conveniently situated rented buildings for two undenominational residential colleges, one for women and another for men'; and, in connexion with the Pupil Teachers' College which is about to be erected, 'suitable provision should be made for day-certificate classes at which assistant teachers might receive, say, half-time instruction.'

The Gloucestershire authorities write, in their Report, dated October 24, 1904:—

'It was inevitable that the change effected by the Act of 1902 should entail an enormous amount of administrative labour. . . . But it must be recognised that no great change can be looked for in the Elementary Schools until the Board of Education's new regulations for the instruction and training of teachers have had time to bear fruit.'

A scholarship scheme has been started in the county; and other steps have been taken which, it is hoped, 'will bring more recruits into the teaching profession, and remedy the deficiency which still is, and must for some time remain, acute.' The same story is repeated in Northumberland and other centres, till we reach the excellent 'Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool,' by Professor Sadler, to which reference has already been made. In the sixth chapter of that work, which should by this time be in the hands of every education committee in the country, the writer discusses the 'Supply and Training of Elementary School Teachers,' and adds 'Suggestions and Recommendations.' This is not the place to consider the specific needs of Liverpool, or the means

of supplying them ; but Mr Sadler expressly states, as a general principle of training, that, 'in order to draw the future pupil teachers to the secondary schools, a scholarship system will be necessary.' Articles 8, 9, 10, and 11 of the seventeen recommendations contained in the summary of his Report are stated as follows :—

'To develop the scholarship system ; to take various steps for improving the supply and preliminary training of those intending to teach in elementary schools ; to strengthen the Pupil Teacher Centres ; to establish a new Training College for women teachers ; to enlarge the University Day Training College, and to establish hostels in connexion with it.'

Authorities in other parts of the country will welcome the support of so eminent an expert as Mr Sadler in this important respect.

We have attempted to illustrate the work of the education committees by directing attention to a single aspect of their labours. But, however typical the example, it is merely an example. Instances might be multiplied in which the various reports shed light upon one another, and in which the local authorities might give mutual assistance. An exhaustive survey would lead to considerable repetition, and might be wearisome to follow in detail. The essence of the matter is that the nation should be aware of the great work which is being done in its midst. Despite the clamour of party politicians, and the threat to undo the legislation of 1902-3 when the present Government goes out of office, the county authorities of London and the provinces are showing themselves eager and competent to give the children in their several areas the utmost benefit of the law as it stands. They are seeking to remove the reproach—to quote Matthew Arnold for the last time—that the schools in our country 'have been left to come forth as they could and to form themselves at haphazard, and are now, as a whole, in the most serious degree inadequate and unsatisfactory.'

If we were asked to describe in one word the whole tendency of English education as manifested at the present time, we should speak of a humanistic renaissance. Pater, a type of modern humanism, declares that 'the

real business of education' is insight, 'insight through culture into all that the present moment holds in trust for us, as we stand so briefly in its presence.' And in another place he writes:—

'Not the fruit of experience, but experience itself, is the end. A counted number of pulses only is given to us of a variegated, dramatic life. How may we see in them all that is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at that focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy? To burn always with this hard, gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life.'

Between this definition of success and the ideal recommended to his son by the 'Self-made Merchant' of Mr Lorimer's clever 'Letters'—'you've got to eat hog, think hog, dream hog, in short, go the whole hog, if you're going to win out in the pork-packing business'—there is the whole difference between humanism and materialism. English education, we believe, is working round to the humanistic ideal.

'The school should humanise' (writes Mr Sadler). 'It should give to each of its scholars the chance of that development most congenial to his native powers. . . . By humanising its pupils it can best serve the community which supports it.'

This tendency may be traced in the recent publications of the Board of Education; its spirit animates the work of the local committees throughout the country; and it may reasonably be hoped that this spirit will endure. The one thing needful now is to stimulate an interest in education, so that the national conscience may no longer tolerate a generation of elementary school teachers at once ill-trained and underpaid. The reaction has started at Whitehall; a sense of civic duty must do the rest.

Art. IX.—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

1. *Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold*. London and New York: Macmillan, 1891.
2. *Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848-1888*. Collected and arranged by George W. E. Russell. Two vols. London and New York: Macmillan, 1895.
3. *Matthew Arnold*. By George Saintsbury. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1899.
4. *Matthew Arnold*. By H. W. Paul. London: Macmillan, 1902.
5. *Matthew Arnold*. By G. W. E. Russell. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.
6. *Matthew Arnold, and his Relation to the Thought of our Time*. By W. H. Dawson. New York and London: Putnam, 1904.
7. *Two Essays upon Matthew Arnold; with some of his Letters to the Author*. By Arthur Galton. London: Elkin Mathews, 1897.
8. *The Bibliography of Matthew Arnold*. Compiled and edited by T. B. Smart. London: Davy and Sons, 1892.

‘Ah! two desires toss about
The poet’s restless blood;
One drives him to the world without,
And one to solitude.’

For a celebrity to say nowadays that he will not permit his life to be written after his death is about as wise and about as effective as for him to say that he will not permit his portrait to be taken during his life. If the celebrity will not be taken sitting he will be ‘stalked’ or ‘snap-shotted.’ Some portrait of him for general use will be secured. It is the same with his biography. If he does not write his own story, or allow it to be written from authentic materials by friends, some ‘Life’ will be written, *tant bien que mal*, from such materials as can be reached by fair means or by other means. Tennyson, ‘a shy beast,’ as he called himself, who disliked the idea as strongly as any one could, recognised the necessity and bowed to it, happily for himself and the world.

That Matthew Arnold should have objected to the process seems a little strange, for he was not at all shy,

but, on the contrary, liked recognition, and was even, innocently enough, rather vain. However, he did so object, and tried to prevent it. But written, of course, his life has been, and will be again. Besides the admirable articles in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' by Dr Garnett, and in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' by Mr Watts-Dunton, three biographical sketches have been produced, by Professor Saintsbury, by Mr Herbert Paul, and, more recently, by Mr G. W. E. Russell. All three are, as they were sure to be, done with admirable skill. Professor Saintsbury is himself an excellent scholar both in ancient and modern tongues, and has an unique acquaintance with the history of criticism. Mr Paul is a man both of letters and affairs, a politician, a journalist, and an historian, a master of wit and epigram, and full of the keenest appreciation for the Greek and Roman writers. Mr George Russell was an Under-secretary of State, and is a practised writer, besides being a staunch churchman and a lay-preacher. Politically, Professor Saintsbury is a Conservative, Mr Paul and Mr Russell are Liberals. All three are Oxford men. Between the three, with all these qualifications, it might be thought that ample justice would have been done to their common subject. But it is not so. Neither individually nor combined do they give an adequate presentment. Professor Saintsbury treats Arnold too much as a man of letters who strayed into the pulpit; Mr Paul too much as a poet who was betrayed on to the platform. Mr George Russell comes nearest to what is wanted; and his book, so far as it goes, merits our warm praise and gratitude. He has the best conception of the variety, range, and relation of Matthew Arnold's interests, and the fullest sympathy with them. But something more is still required. We still want the man as a whole. He does not stand out as what he was, well-defined and complete. And the reason is not far to seek; it is want of material. No one of these biographers has been at the pains to collect materials for a real 'Life.'

Yet in truth this ought to be done and done soon, before it is too late. There are many still living who knew Matthew Arnold well, though every year some one disappears who could tell us much at first-hand about him. There must be in existence not a few letters besides those included in Mr George Russell's well-known collec-

tion. Indeed, in his latest book, Mr Russell quotes at least one such letter of great value. Even the existing materials have hardly been properly used. The 'Lives' of Arnold's contemporaries contain many letters and many notices which are interesting and elucidative. What is to be desired is that all these letters should now be collected and given to the world; and that, while the tradition of the living man is still itself alive, a biography should be written, with due reticence and reserve, but sufficiently full and definitive.

'What is there to write?' it may be said. 'Surely Matthew Arnold's life was, even more than that of most poets, uneventful.' But the evolution of a poet's genius is always instructive; and in Matthew Arnold's case the peculiar conflict of attractions and repulsions, and the somewhat erratic orbit which he ultimately traced, are intensely interesting. Why did he produce so little? yet why did he produce so much? for his total output, though small, is a good deal larger than is often thought. Why did he publish, and why, having published, did he immediately withdraw, his first volume of poems? Why, stranger still, did he, three years later, repeat this odd process with 'Empedocles on Etna'? What was the meaning of his sudden excursion into Italian politics in 1859, seven or eight years after he had apparently given up all idea of a wider public life and settled down to school-inspecting? Some hints in answer to these questions, and to others of the kind, Mr Russell gives; but much remains a mystery.

The main outlines of Matthew Arnold's life are pretty well known. He was the eldest son of the famous Dr Arnold, a man whose genius and variety, like those of his son, transcended the bounds of his profession and found expression alike in history, in politics, and in religion. To be the child of such a man meant much to Matthew Arnold. It meant that he was brought up in the love of letters, especially of the Greek and Latin masterpieces, in the love of history, in the love of nature, though not of Natural Science; in the love, therefore, of travel and of scenery alike for its natural beauty and its historic associations. It meant again that he was nursed in the keen air of a strong if limited Liberalism, not seldom refreshed by the breezes and, at times, the storms of

political and religious controversy. At the same time, Dr Arnold, though theoretically a Latitudinarian, retained in practice not a little of the old-fashioned churchman, and, like the Lutherans, clung to a certain order and ceremony. Matthew, 'papa's continuator,' as he quaintly called himself, did the same. Further, he was not only the son of his father, but the godson of his father's friend, the author of 'The Christian Year.' As a boy at Winchester he used to visit Mr Keble at Hursley. As an undergraduate at Oxford he was at home, not only with the then Broad Church party, but also with the Tractarians, and found in Newman not merely 'the voice which from St Mary's thrilled the hour,' but his godfather's near friend and ally. Thus he was emphatically a disciple, even if at times he appeared a truant disciple, of the English Church.

To be the son of Dr Arnold meant, again, that he was the child, not only of Rugby, but also of 'Fox How,' reared amid the scenery and the spirit of the Lakes and the Lake poets. Of Southey, indeed, he could only say 'Vidi tantum'; but Southey's greater compeer, Wordsworth, was a familiar figure from his childhood. 'It is not for nothing,' as he wrote himself, 'that one has been brought up in the veneration of a man so truly worthy of homage; that one has seen and heard him, lived in his neighbourhood and been familiar with his country.' The Lake poets, again, were eminently critical poets; and to the formative influences of Arnold's youth must be added the philosophic tradition of Coleridge, the literature of De Quincey, and the boisterous badinage of 'Christopher North.' Poetry, then, and criticism, education and religion, separately and in combination, with their influences keen and high, were around him from the first.

Dr Arnold was a generous and wide-minded spirit. He had no bigoted belief in his own methods. He was a good Wykehamist and loved his old school. He thought 'a period at Winchester would do his boys no harm'; and he sent 'Mat' and 'Tom' to be under Dr Moberly. Tom, in that naïf and sincere narrative, 'Passages in a Wandering Life,' gives us some glimpses of both the successes and the *faux pas* of his brother's boyhood. 'Mat,' he says—and we can well believe it—'always talked freely,' and once, when at breakfast with the headmaster, spoke, in

the presence of another bigger and stronger boy, of his form-work as being too easy. The result was that Dr Moberly increased the tale of bricks, and the other boy and his friends, equally naturally, 'took it out' of Mat after school. On the other hand, he distinguished himself by gaining the Queen's medal—it was in the year of her accession—for a recitation, choosing Byron, his favourite poet, the favourite of most youthful poets of that time. From Winchester he went back to Rugby; and from Rugby, the most strenuous and stimulating school of that day, he passed to the most strenuous and stimulating of Oxford colleges, having won 'the Balliol,' as the open classical scholarships of Balliol College were already called.

The set at Trinity, Cambridge, in which Tennyson moved, the coterie of 'In Memoriam,' is ever memorable; but even with that the Balliol coterie in which Arnold found a place need not fear comparison. The list of scholars who were his contemporaries is nothing short of extraordinary. Edward Meyrick Goulburn, Stafford Northcote, A. H. Clough, Frederick Temple, John Duke Coleridge, James Riddell, Edwin Palmer, Theodore Walrond, F. T. Palgrave, William Sellar, Henry Smith, Alexander Grant—could a dozen names be found more honourable to any seminary whose function was, in the language of the 'bidding-prayer,' to supply 'persons qualified to serve God in Church and State'?

No wonder that Principal Shairp was inspired to catch and fix the portraiture of this academic company in his charming 'Remembrances.' Some of its members worked hard for the schools, most of them, indeed, very hard, and took the highest honours. The two Rugby poets, Clough and Arnold—not, perhaps, for quite the same reasons—both found their way into the second class, affording thereby consolation to many a subsequent similarly unlucky competitor. In the case of both an Oriel fellowship redressed the balance of the University examinations. Arnold was undoubtedly a good undergraduate scholar. He was *proxime accessit* for the Hertford scholarship, being only vanquished by a rival to whom any one might well have run second, Goldwin Smith. He won the 'Newdigate' too, with a strong but rather dull poem on a subject perhaps not very congenial, Oliver Cromwell. Probably he did not read

hard, not, at any rate, upon the lines recognised in the schools. Shairp's vignette portrait is well known.

'So full of power, yet blithe and debonair,
 Rallying his friends with pleasant banter gay,
 Or, half adream, chaunting with jaunty air
 Great words of Goethe, catch of Béranger:
 We see the banter sparkle in his prose,
 But knew not then the undertone that flows,
 So calmly sad, thro' all his stately lay.'

His brother Tom gives almost the same account. Their father died, it will be remembered, in the early summer of 1841, just at the end of Matthew's freshman's year. Tom went up to Oxford that autumn, and for the next three years the brothers were together.

'During these years' (writes Tom) 'my brother was cultivating his poetic gift carefully, but his exuberant versatile nature claimed other satisfactions. His keen bantering talk made him something of a social lion among Oxford men; he even began to dress fashionably. Goethe displaced Byron in his political allegiance; the transcendental spells of Emerson wove themselves around him; the charm of an exquisite style made him and long kept him a votary of George Sand.'

A contemporary at Oxford, afterwards a country clergyman, and fond, in a not unbecoming clerical way, of sport, would often recall with pleasure how he and Mat Arnold used to go rook-shooting together as undergraduates. The poet, indeed, always liked shooting, though a poor shot. 'Need I say that I am passionately fond of the Colchian bird,' he writes in one of his letters. His own account of his Oxford time bears out this and similar reminiscences. 'I and my friends,' he used to say, 'lived in Oxford as in a great country-house.' It was not altogether a bad way; it was a way, moreover, more natural and possible in the little old unreformed Oxford of those times than in the residential city of to-day.

It is not difficult to imagine what Arnold's life at this period was. The sons of the aristocracy, of the country gentry and the clergy, with a sprinkling of the sons of the well-to-do professional men, bankers and men of business, who were within the Anglican pale, 'Lord Lumpington' and 'the Rev. Esau Hittall,' as Arnold

afterwards called them, and their set, but without 'Mr Bottles,' who was still confined by the 'Tests' to 'Lycurgus House,' and 'Dr Silverpump'—these made the society of the Oxford of that era. And the place! The pleasant country still ran up to the walls and gates of the colleges. No fringe of mean suburbs interposed between the coronal of spires and towers and its green setting. It was the Oxford of William Turner's paintings and Ingram's views. There were 'our young barbarians all at play'; and Arnold played a good deal with them, 'Bullingdon and hunting' were well known to him.

'See, 'tis no foot of unfamiliar men
To-night from Oxford up your pathway strays.
Here came I often, often, in old days,
Thyrsis and I: we still had Thyrsis then.'

The 'Hurst in spring,' the 'lone alehouse in the Berkshire moors,' the 'causeway chill,' the 'line of festal light in Christ Church Hall,' seen from the Cumner slope, the 'wide fields of breezy grass' above Godstow, 'where many a scythe in sunshine flames':

'What white, what purple fritillaries
The grassy harvest of the river-fields
Above by Ensham, down by Sandford, yields,
And what sedged brooks are Thames's tributaries':

the 'wood which hides the daffodil,' 'the frail-leaf'd white anemone,' the 'red loosestrife and blond meadow-sweet,' the 'Fyfield elm' and the 'distant Wychwood bowers'—these last not, as a rule, known even to poetical undergraduates—he knew them all; and it was now that he learned to know them, roaming on foot with 'Thyrsis' or some other congenial studious friend, but also at times 'rejoicing in life and the sunshine,' as Thyrsis himself sings, and joining the jovial and merry bands of Oxford riders and oarsmen.

In later days his visits to these haunts grew, perforce, more rare. It was now that he became Oxford's poet *par excellence*. For Oxford, most poetical of universities and cities, has produced, strangely enough, few poets. She had few, indeed, worthy of the name until the last century. In the last half of that century, and at the present time, it is true, she was and is comparatively

rich. But if she had to wait long, she was at length rewarded when she found in Arnold a poet who made her territory literally 'classic ground,' teaching her sons to love her, and giving a language to their love.

Arnold, however, did not linger in Oxford, though, had he chosen to do so, the opportunity offered. From Balliol and its distinguished undergraduate company he passed to the distinguished graduate company of Oriel, the other college at that time most alert and alive, becoming a member of the same common-room with Newman, Church, Clough, and Poste. Now, indeed, the fortunate youth seemed to have the ball at his feet. He had not determined on a career, but what he inclined to was public life. For a few months he taught the Sixth Form at Rugby; but this was a transient episode. 'Attach yourself to some great man, sir! Many have risen to eminence in that way,' said old President Routh, speaking with the voice of the eighteenth century, a year or two later, to Conington when he was leaving Magdalen. It was still a recognised precept, and Arnold followed it. He became private secretary to Lord Lansdowne, then President of the Council, and was launched on the great world. He had the run of Lansdowne House; he was asked down to Bowood, the rallying-ground of Whig wisdom, wit, fashion, and society. The path of intellectual and discriminating and very enjoyable and prosperous Whiggery, smooth, but not too smooth for mental health, lay before him. He had only to go forward on it with fair diligence and caution to be sure of success.

What, then, were the first steps of the young and brilliant *débutant*? They were characteristic enough. He set out with head erect and jaunty confident pace. 'The mountain tops,' as he has sung, shone 'bright and bare,' and 'short the way appeared to the less practised eye of sanguine youth.' Soon, however, he wearied of the beaten track. Furtively he stepped aside into the flowery meadows and sequestered by-paths, then hastily darted back into the high road. In other words, he put out his first volume of poems; but they were published anonymously, and he called them in almost as soon as they appeared. In many a young man such a course would have been natural enough. Had Arnold not been a true and high poet, had the poems been less

good, there would have been little remarkable about the matter. But, in truth, both the volume and the action were prophetic of his whole singular career. Taken alone, this first suppressed collection of poems is, indeed, extraordinarily interesting. It shows what Arnold was before he made the plunge, which he shrank so much from making, into practical life. The germ of much of his subsequent work and writing is here. His loves and his dislikes—hatreds in one so amiable and urbane they should hardly be called—his attractions and repulsions—Sophocles, Shakespeare, the blatant Nonconformist minister, the Republican friend, youth's bitter-sweet melancholy, his 'sad lucidity of soul,' his feeling of the irony of fate, above all, his hesitancy, his sense of the 'something that infects the world'—all appear in it and appear impressively. For this slender first volume, so short-lived, so little noticed, contains some of his very best work, some of those pieces by which he will always be remembered—'Mycerinus' and the 'Forsaken Merman,' the sonnet on 'Quiet Work,' the 'Sophocles' and 'Shakespeare' sonnets, the 'Sick King in Bokhara,' 'In utrumque paratus,' the 'Strayed Reveller,' and the 'New Sirens.'

Yet it shows only half his character; the other half was perhaps to be seen in its suppression. He was indeed a singular mixture, a paradox, or rather a bundle of paradoxes, oscillating, vacillating at all times between the worldly and the unworldly. Handsome, athletic, elegant, fashionable, loving (as he said himself) the ways and sports of the 'barbarians,' full of a superficial levity and even flippancy, calculated to shine in society, to adorn and enjoy it—this was what he appeared on the surface. 'A very brilliant person was Arnold in those days,' writes, somewhat later, Mr Ellis Yarnall, that pious and kindly pilgrim from New Jersey—one of the very few still surviving who can recollect Wordsworth and Keble—'but of sweet and winning manner; as an especial mark of eminence he was singularly urbane and gracious. Exquisite was he in dress; and his black hair and fine eyes, his easy bearing and pleasant talk, made him altogether fascinating.' But, as Mr Russell well remarks, he was, like his own description of poetry,

'Radiant, adorn'd outside : a hidden ground
Of thought and of austerity within,'

Underneath were the 'sad lucidity of soul,' tender passion, dissatisfaction with the pleasures of this world, a mastering sense of duty at war with his lighter nature.

Much of this contradiction was indeed physical. 'The lofty Mat' he had been called at school; and what he was as an undergraduate Principal Shairp has recorded. His erect carriage, his manners like those of Milton's 'affable archangel,' his Count d'Orsay poses, his waving handkerchief and airy gesticulation, were natural to him, as natural as were

'The comely face, the cluster'd brow,
The cordial hand, the bearing free,'

which he has described so tenderly in those exquisite lines on his brother, so happily transferred by Mr Galton to himself. Equally natural were his sallies of wit and raillery. He was aware of it himself. 'You'll like her,' he said of his wife; 'she has all my graces and none of my airs.' These last, indeed, were proverbial among his friends. 'Please say whether you liked Matthew Arnold and his airs,' writes Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone. Arnold 'laughed till he cried' when he read Frederic Harrison's description of himself, 'me, in the midst of the general tribulation, handing out my pouncet-box.' 'X will do,' he said, speaking of a young relative in whom he was interested, and who was just launching into life, 'X will do. He has that invincible *insouciance* which has always carried *me* through the world.' 'Invincible *insouciance*'; indeed he had need of it. Many a man has need of more than a little to carry him through the daunting stress of life. Arnold certainly found, as will be seen, his double portion very convenient and helpful. Strange to say, it hardly appears in any line of his poetry.

His own ideal was to unite the grave and the gay. This combination was what he admired in his ancient and his modern exemplars, Sophocles and Goethe, spirits whom 'business could not make dull nor passion wild,' minds that 'saw life steadily and saw it whole.' Again and again the ideal appears in his verse, but he could not compass it himself.

'Years hence, perhaps, may dawn an age
More fortunate, alas! than we,
Which without hardness will be sage,
And gay without frivolity.'

In his own poetry the gay found no outlet. Perhaps poetry was too sublime and serious an art. Certainly life itself, when he was in the poetic humour and looked beneath the surface, was too serious a matter. The world in these moods was a vain and passing show; pleasure and knowledge were alike hollow; the white-robed slave whispers at the Great King's elbow amid the flowers and over the cups; the philosopher scales the heights of science only to sink palsied on the summit. In real life also he felt this serious side. It was always returning upon him. He had, as his letters and notebooks abundantly proclaim, a deep inner existence, fed by communings with his self-chosen directors, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, the Bible and the 'Imitatio' and Bishop Wilson.

'From his earliest years' (wrote Lord Coleridge to Mr Ellis Yarnall just after his death) 'sorrow or trouble always calmed or sobered him; his persiflage disappeared, and you saw and, what is more, you felt, the warm generous heart, the just judgment, the tender sympathy which was as natural to him as to breathe.'

But in real life he had this double nature, one half of which alone appears in his poems. The gay and lively was always bubbling up through the grave and severe. He could not resist the chronic tendency to banter. The world, in consequence, did not know, to use a vulgar phrase, 'where to have him,' whether to treat him as a mocker or as a mystic, a Socrates or a Scarron. He seemed an impossible and provoking combination of opposites, a living contradiction in terms, a Christian Voltairian, a voice poking fun in the wilderness, an 'elegant' from the cloister, a 'Jeremiah,' as some one said, 'in white kid gloves.' By a natural reaction, when he was most in the world the desire to escape and cultivate his unworldly side was strongest. It was when he was cut off from the world that his appetite for it returned.

A born critic of others, he was a born critic also of himself. Few young men at the opening of life have judged themselves better. There is a striking passage in a letter written to his sister in 1851, just before he 'ranged himself,' which, as a human document for the

poetic temperament at this critical period of transition, may be compared with Keats's preface to 'Endymion.'

'The aimless and unsettled, but also open and liberal state of our youth we *must* perhaps all leave, and take refuge in our morality and character; but, with most of us, it is a melancholy passage, from which we emerge shorn of so many beams that we are almost tempted to quarrel with the law of nature which imposes it on us. I feel this in my own case, and in no respect more strongly than in my relations to all of you. I am by nature so very different from you, the worldly element enters so much more largely into my composition, that, as I become *formed*, there seems to grow a gulf between us which tends to widen till we can hardly hold any intercourse across it. But, as Thomas à Kempis recommended, *frequenter tibi ipsi violentiam fac* . . . so I intend not to give myself the rein in following my natural tendency, but to make war against it till it ceases to isolate me from you, and leaves me with the power to discern and adopt the good which you have and I have not.'

So he writes to his sister. But an influence more potent than a sister's was at hand. It has not been revealed, and perhaps it would not be right to ask, whether there is any special reference in the well-known pieces, published, as he himself would say, 'by divers portions and in divers manners,' but the first of which is found in the first volume and obviously goes back very early. Who were the fair figures appearing and vanishing in so charming, so perplexing a manner in the 'Memory Picture' (called also 'To my Friends') and the 'Modern Sappho,' the 'Dream' and the two series entitled 'Switzerland' and 'Faded Leaves'? Marguerite and Olivia, Marguerite before all, had she any individual existence? Where and when did he meet her? 'Mitte quærere.'

'The mists are on the mountain hung,
And Marguerite I shall see no more.'

Dreams, indeed, in a sense they are, in which passion and coquetry mingle, dreams and day-dreams of a chivalrous young heart and a gay insouciant spirit, blended with the romance and illusion of first travel and careless roving hours by the Rhine and in the Alps. Enough

that, as may be said of many young impressionable natures, before they find the hour

'When round one fairest face shall meet
Those many dreams of many fair,
And wandering homage seek the feet
Of one sweet queen, and linger there,'

'Nondum amabat: amare amabat.' It is customary to speak of Arnold's poetry as wanting in passion. But passion enough is in these pieces; and in consequence they contain some of the best and strongest, as well as the lightest and happiest, of his lines.

Two years after the publication of his first poems he found, like so many young men, if not the solution, at least the determination, of his doubts. He married for love and he became a school-inspector. Being what he was, it is infinitely characteristic, and much to his credit, that he should have taken these steps. It was an unworldly match and an unwordly choice of a profession. He seems to have dreamed at first of keeping leisure for his own poetic life, possibly even of retiring to Italy on 200*l.* a year, but he soon found that this was an empty vision.

The career of a school-inspector was perhaps not necessarily so laborious as might appear. Some years later another distinguished poet, critic, and thinker, F. W. H. Myers, deliberately chose it as giving the maximum of free time for private research and writing. Myers undoubtedly justified his choice by his contributions to literature and to psychical enquiry. Possibly things were more difficult in the earlier days. As Arnold lived, it was a hard life, and he was assuredly Pegasus in harness. Was it a mistake—the ruin of great possibilities?

Good poetry is so lovely, so delightful, above all, so rare a thing, that we are always tempted to wish that the poet might have given us more. In Matthew Arnold's case this is certainly true. In reading his 'Life' we cannot avoid a certain sense of a *vie manquée*. At times he himself seemed to feel this too. When he compared himself with his old friends and contemporaries, risen to be judges, cabinet ministers, ambassadors, and archbishops, it was difficult for him not to do so. To any worldly ambitions that he might have cherished he had certainly given the death-blow. 'He is a Balliol man

who has succeeded in life,' he said of Archbishop Tait. 'I am a Balliol man who has failed.' And again, 'We are only humble men of letters; we admire the superb proportions of Sir Robert Morier; we cannot emulate them. But we subsist and perform our humble functions.' Was he serious in this badinage? Half serious. It was, perhaps, one reason why he did not wish his life to be written. Did he feel the consolation of having made a noble sacrifice for the sake of his profession, or to secure freedom for his own inner life? The first he might well have had; but he did not love his profession.

'Though I am a schoolmaster's son I confess that school-teaching or school-inspecting is not the line of life I should naturally have chosen; I adopted it in order to marry.... My wife and I had a wandering life of it at first.... We had no home; one of our children was born in a lodging at Derby, with a workhouse, if I recollect aright, behind and a penitentiary in front. But the irksomeness of my new duties was what I felt most; and during the first year or so it was sometimes insupportable.'

So he spoke of the life when leaving and looking back on it. 'Well-nigh a positive purgatory,' he called it at the time. 'I've had a hard day,' he writes on one occasion. 'Thirty pupil-teachers to examine in an inconvenient room, and nothing to eat except a biscuit which a charitable lady gave me.' Things, perhaps, need not have been quite so trying. Arnold probably managed badly; but at times it was what is called a dog's life. Even had he been a better economist of time and strength, it would have been difficult to combine it with writing the highest poetry for, '*Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quærunt*,' 'the Muses love the musing mind.'

But it certainly was a fortunate hour for English education when, in order to marry Miss Fanny Lucy Wightman, Matthew Arnold accepted the post of school-inspector. What a wealth of resources he brought to it has been seen—the tradition of his father, moral and intellectual standards of the highest, wide culture, poetic imagination, ready sympathy, eloquence, charm, genius. In the strict technical sense he was probably not a good inspector. He was tempted to delegate his work. The details were not congenial. As years went on he became

impatient, as he wrote to his mother, of getting old amid a press of occupations and labours for which, as he says expressively, 'after all I was not born.' But his high gifts were not lost in what might appear his humble calling. Read 'A French Eton'; note his powers of description, the masterly placing on the canvas of the Lycée of Toulouse and the College at Sorèze, the lovely and sympathetic picture of Lacordaire, the diversion about the old *cit  * of Carcassonne. In such passages the son of Dr Arnold and of Oxford, the hearer of Keble and Newman, the poet and literary artist, all appear. He brought, again, to the service of English education an idea of what education was and what it might be, some notion of its history, some conspectus of the history of other countries and other times, above all, his own fresh critical spirit, his habit of taking wide views and questioning everything, his mixture of patriotism and discontent, his interest in foreign countries, his love of England even as she was, and his desire to see her better.

His detached and independent position gave him much advantage. He retained his instinct for and interest in affairs. His work lay, it should be remembered, in the region of elementary, not of the higher or secondary education, and within this region in a peculiarly selected and restricted area, that of the Nonconformist schools. He started with a prejudice against the Nonconformists. Like his father, he wished to 'compel them to come in,' and resented their unwillingness to be compelled. Among his poems almost the only acrimonious one is the early sonnet on the 'Independent Preacher.' Their positive principles he only half understood. He regarded them as schismatics for schism's sake. As he went on he came to know them better, and found many friends among them, and undoubtedly learned much from them. But their ways were not naturally congenial to him. A lover of beauty, his temperament a curious blending of the sensuous and the gay with the austere, he could respect them but he could not love them, and, as Goldwin Smith, in his trenchant criticism of 'Falkland,' pointed out, he ever did less than justice to the Puritans. By nature he was drawn to the colour and the comfort, the historic dignity and glamour, of the Roman Catholic system, with its warmth and variety, its pleasant cakes and ale, con-

taining, as he said, 'all the world of Shakespeare.' The want of beauty in the Congregationalist, Methodist, and Baptist conventicles and beliefs got upon his nerves; and he used one-sided language about their 'hideous and immense ennui.'

He retained, however, his wonderful spirits. He was bright and brave. 'We are not here to have facilities made for us for doing the work we like,' he wrote, 'but to make them for ourselves.' Still he desired more scope, more 'action,' as he called it. It was when he was in this mood that Oxford, ever his best friend, came to his rescue and gave him just what he wanted—an outlet from his poorly paid drudgery, emolument, honour, opportunity, authority, a pulpit from which to address the world. It is difficult to estimate how much he owed to the Professorship of Poetry to which he was elected in 1857. He was an ideal man for the post. His lectures were brilliantly successful both on their delivery and on their subsequent publication. It is enough to say that the 'Lectures on translating Homer' and 'Essays on Criticism' were the first-fruits of his professorship. It is strange to read that even these lectures 'were not quite the work he liked.' What on earth would he have liked? He thought he would have liked to give himself more to poetry, to creation rather than to criticism. He knew how hard it was to do so, living the life he had to live. He could not do it without being exhausted, nay, 'torn to pieces,' *viel zerrissen*, as he said, borrowing the phrase of his great master, Goethe.

Some effort, fortunately, he did make. To this period we owe 'Merope' and the volume entitled 'New Poems,' published in 1869. 'Merope' was the outcome of his professorship, and has been happily called his 'diploma piece.' It is perhaps best described, if a little cruelly, as just such a poem as might have been expected from any professor of poetry—except Matthew Arnold. In it he appears as an inverted Wordsworth. The preface is one of the best things he ever penned. His theory is admirable, his practice a cold failure. He was disappointed and inclined to grumble to Conington at the success of Swinburne's 'Atalanta' though not really classical. But it is not only the glitter and glamour of 'Atalanta' that make 'Merope' show faint and pale. The poem is equally

a failure if compared with the austere force and solemn music of 'Samson Agonistes,' or the dainty art and frolic charm of 'Achilles in Scyros.'

The 'New Poems' succeeded much better. From the first they sold well, and went into a second edition almost directly. His name as a poet was now firmly established. He had the popular encouragement he required. Yet, after the publication of this volume, Arnold wrote hardly any more verse. Why did he not go on? The 'New Poems' themselves contain, perhaps, part of the answer. After 1869 it is noticeable that all his poems were occasional, and all but two prompted by the death of friends, either human or brute, these last ever among his dearest—Dean Stanley, 'Geist,' 'Kaiser,' and 'Poor Matthias'; the two best, a 'Summer Night' and 'Thyrsis,' were drawn from him by the death of his brother William, and of that brother of his soul, Arthur Hugh Clough. He projected other poems, and it is interesting to note what he projected, namely, a handling of the Middle Ages, especially, perhaps, of the Nibelungen story, poems on 'St Alexius,' on the 'Voyage of Achilles to the Island of Leuce,' and a tragedy on Lucretius. He thought Tennyson had not done justice to the Middle Ages, and that he could do much better. He was distressed to find that Tennyson also was engaged on Lucretius, with which he himself had been occupied for twenty years. He thought, however, he would persevere with it. Those who remember the happy allusions in 'Wordsworth's Grave' and 'Obermann' will much regret that he did not. Why did he not? The answer is only partly given in the pathetic if awkwardly phrased stanzas entitled 'The Progress of Poesy.'

'The man mature with labour chops
For the bright stream a channel grand,
And sees not that the sacred drops
Ran off and vanish'd out of hand.'

Arnold was not, he never became, 'the old man tottering nigh,' and 'feebly raking among the stones'; but it would appear that the cause of his ceasing to pour forth was not so much that the sacred drops vanished, as that he never chopped the channel grand. The real reason was that if he had little time in all, he did not give that little

to poetry. A striking passage in a letter to Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, a very sympathetic recipient, to whom, consequently, some of his best letters were written, gives the truest clue to his real attitude.

'One is from time to time seized and irresistibly carried along by a temptation to handle political or religious or social matters directly; but, after yielding to such a temptation, I always feel myself recoiling again and disposed to touch them only so far as they can be touched through poetry.'

More and more, almost insensibly, he yielded to the temptation, and the recoil became less and less. The fact is, as Mr W. H. Dawson has discriminatingly brought out, his prevailing desire was to deal with these political, religious, and social matters. He thought he could do this through poetry. But through what kind of poetry? He had a strong instinct for true poetry. When he was young this predominated. In so far as his mission was to preach beauty, poetry was a suitable medium. And in a sense beauty, no doubt, is truth and truth is beauty. But they are not the same, nor to be handled in the same way. Unless the form of satiric or didactic or gnomic poetry be adopted, these topics cannot be touched except indirectly. Matthew Arnold did not adopt any of these forms. He therefore touched them only indirectly. So touching them, he fancied that he had achieved already some considerable measure of success. 'My poems represent,' he wrote in 1869, 'on the whole, the main movement of mind of the last quarter of a century.'

He thought Tennyson 'deficient in intellectual power.' He thought that he himself had perhaps 'less poetical sentiment than Tennyson, less intellectual vigour and abundance than Browning, but more of a fusion of the two than either,' and, above all, 'that he had more regularly applied that fusion to the main line of modern development.' Does not this show how difficult it is for even the best critic fairly to judge his own work? For what was the 'main line of modern development' in the quarter of a century preceding 1869, both in England and on the Continent? What were the ideas with which men's heads everywhere were full? Were they not chiefly these—the potency and promise of material and mechanical development, the conception of what was

called, sometimes by its English sometimes by its Latin name, 'freedom' or 'liberty' in every field; the emancipation of women, of the lower classes, of the serf, of the slave; 'free trade,' a 'free press,' a 'free church in a free state'; and, with a view to all these, the extension of the franchise and the universal application of parliamentary systems? Were they not the ideas which went with those of 'nationality' and of 'unification,' and, above all, coming to crown them in the intellectual sphere, of 'evolution,' which seemed to supply a philosophic basis for all these movements? But where are these ideas, or any of them, to be found in Matthew Arnold's poems? The 'march of mind,' the 'steamship and the railway and the thoughts that shake mankind,' the 'happy sails that bear the Press,' the 'parliament of man, the federation of the world,' the progress of science 'charming her secret from the latest moon'—it is to 'Locksley Hall' and 'The Princess' and 'In Memoriam,' to the lines on the opening of the Exhibition, and those to the Queen, that we must go to find them; for Tennyson seems to have felt them all and anticipated many of them. It does not seem to have occurred to Matthew Arnold that perhaps to this fact, as well as to his 'poetical sentiment,' Tennyson's popularity was due.

There was, indeed, another movement going on simultaneously, by some considered only a backwater, by others the main stream. This was the movement which Disraeli partly started, partly only led, which began with the 'Young England' party and, after prevailing in the Conservative reaction of 1874, has since, in the main, merged itself in the later Unionist and Imperialist movement, but has also contributed something to modern Liberalism. To this stream of tendency Matthew Arnold, who had many affinities, besides his power of phrase-making, with Disraeli, also contributed. Its note was to offer opposition to the Manchester school and to many of those ideas of liberation enumerated above, and, before all, to disparage the merely material and mechanical advance of England. It finds strong if somewhat obscure expression in the famous apostrophe to England as 'the weary Titan' in the lines on 'Heine's Grave.' The whole of that poem, indeed, indicates Arnold's position very well. He called himself a Liberal, and so he was; but he

was a continental Liberal, desiring to unite freedom of opinion with strong government. Be that as it may, of this reaction against the older English liberalism he had no monopoly. Tennyson expressed it even more strongly in 'Maud'; and Dickens, whom Matthew Arnold strangely did not read till his last years, expressed it in 'Hard Times.' Ruskin, too, is full of it. Arnold's capital idea, however, was that the world, down to the French Revolution, had based itself on supernatural Christianity; that the French Revolution meant the breaking up of that foundation; and that the world was moving, or striving to move, towards a new basis, resting on non-supernatural Christianity. In his poetry this again finds its best utterance in the two 'Obermann' poems; but once more the utterance is obscure.

It is probably to such utterances that Arnold alludes when he speaks of having touched in his poems the 'main movement of his time'; for it is these ideas, and ideas cognate to them, that he proceeded to work out in his prose. Mr Humphrey Ward, in his introduction to the selection from Arnold's poems included in his 'British Poets'—an introduction full at once of eloquence and insight, and, for the personal side, one of the best things written upon Arnold—points out that it was the decade of storm and stress (1840-1850) that gave Arnold as a poet his real ply. Certainly out of the discouragement, the melancholy of that 'yeasty time' he never grew. The later more optimistic note of 'Imperialism,' so potent in our own day, struck so early and so forcibly by Tennyson, he never strikes at all. If he mentions the Colonies in his writings it is only to think of them as children of the Philistines and an offspring more hopeless than their parents. If we go deeper it is the same. Many will remember the striking criticism by the late Professor Henry Sidgwick on the position, in relation to the main movement of mind, of 'In Memoriam,' and of 'its unparalleled combination of intensity of feeling with comprehension of view in dealing with the deepest needs and perplexities of humanity.'

'In the sixties I should say' (writes Professor Sidgwick) 'that these deeper issues were somewhat obscured by the discussions on Christian dogma, and Inspiration of Scripture, etc. One may recall Browning's reference to this period—

"The 'Essays and Reviews' debate
Begins to tell on the public mind,
And Colenso's words have weight."

During these years we were absorbed in struggling for freedom of thought in the trammels of an historical religion; and perhaps what we sympathised with most in "In Memoriam" at this time, apart from the personal feeling, was the defence of "honest doubt," and, generally, the forward movement of the thought. Well, the years pass; the struggle with what Carlyle used to call "Hebrew Old Clothes" is over. Freedom is won, and to what does Freedom bring us? It brings us face to face with atheistic* science; the faith in God and Immortality, which we had been struggling to clear from superstition, suddenly seems to be "in the air"; and, in seeking for a firm basis for this faith, we find ourselves in the midst of the "fight with death" which "In Memoriam" so powerfully presents.

Colenso's words had no weight with Matthew Arnold. Indeed he annoyed and alienated his Broad Church friends by treating Colenso as a ridiculous figure, a calculating boy turned *enfant terrible*. But in the 'obscuring' discussions on dogma and inspiration he was and remained absorbed. He did not perceive, then or afterwards, that the real epoch-making book of 1859-61 was not 'Essays and Reviews,' nor even the 'Vie de Jésus,' but the 'Origin of Species.' The fact is that the great defect of Matthew Arnold's culture was his almost total want of appreciation of the real importance of Natural Science. It was partly the fault of his bringing up. What the position of Natural Science was in the studies of Rugby under his father is sufficiently indicated by the immortal picture of 'Martin' in 'Tom Brown's School Days.' Oxford was little better. Natural Science was, it is true, just beginning, when Matthew Arnold went there, to struggle in *luminis oras*. His contemporary, Henry Smith, caught the spark and fanned it into flame. But Matthew Arnold remained almost as insensible to it as Gladstone. Officially and theoretically, it is true, he recognised its value; but the diameter of the sun and moon, the chemistry of the candle, the descent of man, were for Matthew Arnold,

* The epithet is unfair to some of the greatest and some of the most recent leaders of natural science.

like the equator, only things to take liberties with; and he thought Lord Salisbury a dangerous young man because he advocated the larger introduction of Natural Science into Oxford.

The determination of Arnold's relation to the 'main movement of ideas' belongs, however, to the consideration of his prose rather than of his poetry. By a strange irony it is through the very quality in which he was willing to admit himself inferior, but in which he was really strong, that, as a poet, he, like all poets, will live. What are his best poems, his most memorable pieces? Are they not 'The Forsaken Merman,' 'Sohrab,' 'Mycerinus,' 'Tristram and Iseult,' 'Requiescat,' 'A Summer Night,' 'A Southern Night,' 'Rugby Chapel,' the lovely descriptive passages in 'Thyrsis' and the 'Scholar Gipsy,' or in the 'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse'? They are not those in which any 'main movement of ideas' appears, but those which are pervaded by the quality of poetic sentiment. Much, indeed, he did contribute to the ideas of his countrymen, but as a prose-writer rather than a poet.

Meanwhile, Oxford had given him, as we said, a pulpit just when he wanted it. Having a pulpit, he at once began to preach. The instinct for, the interest in, the two spheres, politics and religion, so universal in Englishmen, the desire to have his say about them, he had always felt; and now his chance had come. It is significant that his first prose book, published two years after he became Professor of Poetry, had nothing whatever to do with poetry, but was a return to his early loves, which came back to him in his first mission abroad. 'I really think,' he wrote from Lausanne in 1859, 'I shall finish and bring out my pamphlet.' He did so. It was 'England and the Italian Question.' It is not insignificant that it bore a biblical motto, given in the language of the Vulgate, which he used, he said, when he was not earnestly serious, 'Sed nondum est finis' (S. Matt. xxiv, 6). His first magazine articles were also significant. They were 'Maurice de Guérin' and the 'Bishop and the Philosopher.' Three years later he opened his guns more directly, no longer from across the Channel, but on English soil, in the article, 'My Countrymen,' which, later still, was to form part of 'Friendship's Garland.'

Thus, even during his tenure of the professorship his real bent was clear. The 'Essays in Criticism' themselves are only half literary. The element of politics and the element of religion, the elements of social and moral and didactic criticism, are at least as strong as those of literature proper; and it is these that form the originality and charm of the volume quite as much as the æsthetic or artistic elements. Directly he was freed from the bias given by the professorship he showed his own inclination even more decidedly. He ceased to be professor in 1867, winding up with the lectures on Celtic Literature. He began shortly afterwards the series of articles which form 'Culture and Anarchy.' It was ten years before he published anything new on literature. How was the decade filled? In it he produced 'Culture and Anarchy,' 'St Paul and Protestantism,' 'Friendship's Garland,' 'Literature and Dogma,' 'God and the Bible,' and 'Last Essays on Church and Religion.' There was not room for much *belles-lettres*. Truly it is character and not circumstance that is destiny. It was not mainly want of leisure that prevented his writing more poetry or more literary criticism; it was his own action, his own deliberate choice, his own overmastering interest in contemporary affairs.

Though his poems had now at last begun steadily to make their way, it was these prose contributions on subjects of general interest that first made him a force in the country. 'Gentlemen, you see before you what you have often heard of, an unpopular author,' he said to the Income-tax Commissioners on one occasion. A really popular author he never became during his lifetime; but these writings undoubtedly reached a large and wide audience. Their precise effect is difficult to estimate, as it is not easy to dissociate the religious from the political, and the political from the educational portion of his writings. To judge by the results which have actually come about, the truth would seem to be that he affected his country, as regards these three points, in an ascending scale—least, that is to say, in the religious field, more in the political, most of all in the educational. His methods were least adapted for success in the first. The English, and not the English Nonconformists alone, are a serious people, peculiarly serious as regards their religion.

Matthew Arnold's bantering tone and superior airs, his 'smiling academic irony,' as Swinburne called it, estranged even those who might have been expected to sympathise with him. What Gladstone forcibly expressed for himself was felt by many.

'It is very difficult' (he wrote) 'to keep one's temper in dealing with M. Arnold when he touches on religious matters. His patronage of a Christianity fashioned by himself is to me more offensive and trying than rank unbelief.'

Arnold remained, too, always somewhat of an amateur in biblical criticism; and the 'higher critics,' both of his own and of later days, have not paid much attention to him, not so much, indeed, as might have been expected. Jowett, on the morrow of his funeral, wrote:—

'The world has been pleased to say many complimentary things of him since his death, but they have hardly done him justice, because they did not understand his serious side—hard work, independence, and the most loving and careful fulfilment of all the duties of life.'

But earlier, when 'Literature and Dogma' appeared, Jowett himself had pronounced after reading it:—

'Arnold is too flippant to be a prophet. His argument of the meaning of words from their etymology is fallacious and a most Philistine sort of fallacy. But he is a master in the art of plausibility. A confident statement, a slight joke, an argument of this kind, may be brought against anything. Oh, 'tis much that a slight jest will do.'

It is significant, however, that the most serious minds have taken him most seriously. R. H. Hutton (of whom Matthew Arnold wittily, if ungratefully, said that his fault was, 'Always seeing so very far into a millstone') in his own day wrote of him as 'a great Oxford leader' and a 'guide of modern thought,' ranking and comparing him with his master, Cardinal Newman. The present Bishop of Birmingham, Dr Gore, in his lectures on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, says:—

'Life in Christ Jesus, Christ living in me—there can be no question that these beautiful phrases, which, if St John's witness

be true, represent the teaching of Christ himself, express also what was most central in St Paul's idea of Christianity. It was the great merit of Matthew Arnold's "St Paul and Protestantism" that it recalled the fact to notice in ordinary educated circles. Recent scientific study of St Paul has gone in the same direction.'

Something, then, Arnold contributed to theological education. Did he achieve his great object of delivering England from the political Nonconformist, and the Nonconformist from his narrow religion? The first end has certainly not yet been achieved. To the second, in so far as it, along with some widening in other quarters, has come about, many causes contributed; and probably Arnold's contribution was not by any means the largest.

In the realm of politics and of social questions he achieved much more. Here his manner, 'easy, sinuous, unpolemical,' as he himself described it, was admirably suited for its purpose. His banter and raillery only aided him; and it may be questioned whether any man of letters, by the mere power of his pen, has effected so much in this region since the days of Swift. Matthew Arnold, fortunately, was no Swift or Juvenal. No *sæva indignatio* lacerated his heart or prompted his prose-poetry. Rather his method was that of the dapper, plump little Roman poet-critic who 'touched, like the sly rogue he was, every foible of his friend so gaily that his friend laughed with him,' who 'insinuates his way into our bosom and plays about our heart.' There is more than one 'Horatian echo' in Arnold's verse; there are many in what may be called his 'Satires and Epistles.'

'There is to-day a cult of Matthew Arnold,' says Mr W. H. Dawson, the well-known writer on sociology, in the preface to his solid volume; 'it is growing, it must grow.' How far either the statement or the prediction is to be accepted it is difficult to determine, without more evidence than we possess. But the fact of their being thus made and so fully set forth by such a writer is, in itself, so far as it goes, evidence. What cannot be overlooked is that many of the greater changes and reforms of to-day are those which Arnold predicted and advocated; that he certainly was, in regard to his views and ideas, in advance of his time; that he was, in his own language, 'going with the movement of the world.'

The chief political changes in the England of the last quarter of a century—and they are so great that already they amount to something like a silent revolution—may all be referred to or summed up under one capital change of policy and public feeling, in itself a revolution—the change from the policy of *laissez-faire* to that of state-action, the change from Individualism to Collectivism. Many causes have doubtless contributed to effect this revolution, and many men. How far Matthew Arnold aided to bring it about may be difficult to determine. What is certain is that he inculcated and reiterated it so importunately that it seems ungenerous not to give him credit for at least some part of it.

‘A true poet, and not only a poet, but a man, as we now see, with a far truer insight into the intellectual needs of his countrymen than any other writer of the closing quarter of the century.’ It is thus that Mr John Morley writes of him in his recently published ‘Life of Gladstone.’ Only last year the Bishop of Hereford, addressing the British Association at Cambridge upon the subject of education, called attention again and yet again to the warning words of Matthew Arnold ‘in his illuminating reports on the schools and universities of the Continent as he saw them thirty-seven years ago,’ and to his advocacy of scientific system and method.

‘Had some English statesman’ (the Bishop said) ‘been enabled to take up and give effect to Mr Arnold’s chief suggestion, as Humboldt and his colleagues gave effect to their ideas in Prussia in the years 1808 and onwards, the advantage to our country to-day would have been incalculable.’

What Arnold cared for in education, as in affairs, was not administrative or practical detail, but wide and fresh views, and the introduction of a general philosophy and system by which the detail should be governed. In this region it is hardly possible to exaggerate the services which he rendered to his country. Of the ideas which slowly and gradually have come to the birth in English education Arnold had not, indeed, a monopoly—few inventors ever have a monopoly of their ideas. But at least they are all contained in Arnold. Hardly anywhere are any of them stated earlier, and nowhere are they stated earlier with such completeness as in his pages.

'Organise your primary education,' he said, even before the general establishment of primary education was recognised as a state duty. He laboured for its organisation. He laboured not less for its regulation. From the first moment that it was proposed he courageously contended with 'Bob Lowe'—a humble school-inspector with a powerful minister—against the introduction of 'payment by results.' It has died hard and slowly, but the first death-blow was dealt by Arnold's hand.

'Organise your secondary education,' he cried again, boldly overstepping his province in the cause of what he felt to be an obvious public need. Here, even more completely than in the sphere of primary education, we are living still on his ideas; his spirit still rules us from his urn. What was it he said at the outset?

'There must be a real Minister of education, supported by an Advisory Committee of educational experts. All schools and their courses must be inspected either by the Government or, for the Government, by the Universities. New secondary schools must be provided by local authorities up and down the country.'

The Bills of 1899 and 1902 were framed in close agreement with these lines. It may fairly be claimed that he suggested these ideas and also did much to create the public feeling necessary for their being carried into effect.

He was much laughed at for his supposed advocacy of a British academy. He did not advocate *any* academy. The German academy which he predicted we should one day have is an accomplished fact. The French academy which he said we should not have we have not got. If a Roman Catholic university is hereafter created in Ireland, it will be created because the feeling and the ideas which he toiled to infuse and inculcate have prevailed. If it is not created it will be because it will be wrecked on the very reef he always dreaded, because the forces which he recognised and deplored will have proved too strong. In all these things he was before his time. In all, his secret of keeping an open mind and letting a fresh stream of ideas, derived from quiet pondering on the best hitherto thought and written, play upon our everyday conceptions, may be said to be justified.

What then is the truth? Was he after all a prophet,

despite his flippancy, despite his airs, his persiflage, despite his white gloves, his pouncet-box? Had he a message for his generation? He certainly thought he had. He toiled and laboured, he rose up early and late took rest, he probably shortened his life, he certainly retarded his own worldly advancement, he forswore the darling Muses, in order to deliver it. Much of the prophet he undoubtedly possessed, yet he was not quite a prophet. He had not the prophet's intensity or abstraction. He did not retire enough either into the wilderness or into himself. Like his own Goethe, he occupied a middle place.

‘Prophete rechts, Prophete links,
Das Weltkind in der Mitte.’

In his apt and discriminating stanzas, entitled ‘In Laleham Churchyard,’ Mr William Watson hints very happily the contrast between the disciple and his other master.

‘Lulled by the Thames he sleeps, and not
By Rotha's wave.
'Tis fittest thus, for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll,
The deep authentic mountain-thrill
Ne'er shook his page;
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage.’

Moreover, even as a critic and even as a poet he lacks something. He did not concentrate enough. He did not remember Goethe's dictum—

‘Wer Grosses will muss sich zusammen raffen;
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister.’

He did not give up all for poetry, like Tennyson, or for philosophy, like Herbert Spencer. Even his criticism is in a sense superficial. He did not go deep; he was more artist than scholar. His account of Heine is not exhaustive; he did not mean it to be. When Sir M. E. Grant-Duff offered him fuller information, he declined it. His account of Gray's infertility is brilliant, but, as Mr Tovey has shown, not supported by full consideration of Gray's life and character. His criticism was often a matter mainly, as Swinburne said, of ‘studious felicity of exquisite phrase.’ Yet in these very phrases critical

power of the highest was condensed. His *aperçus*, too, and his intuitions were those of genius. They set others thinking and working. His lectures on Celtic Literature, of which he said, with characteristic frankness, 'I know nothing,' are a capital instance.

So too his poetry is unequal. He is often compared to Gray 'going down the centuries with his thin volume under his arm.' The parallel is not a good one. A better, so far as it goes, though it does not go far, would be with Collins. A defective ear, an uncertain choice and mastery of metre, yet often a lovely, unsought, unaffected music, always a tender elegiac passion, a pure drawing and colouring of nature, a philosophic and scholarly aroma blended with exquisite delicacy of sentiment—these are characteristic of both. Poetry is, above all, an affair of genius and often largely of youth. Had Arnold given his life to it, to pure poetry, that is, not to any Wordsworthian inculcation of the 'main movement of ideas,' but to the poetry with which he began, he might have done some greater, stronger; more finished things. Who shall say? But he did enough and more than enough, it may be confidently asserted, for immortality. A spirit buoyant, blithe, and charming, a delightful private friend, a faithful public servant, a benefactor of the commonwealth in his own day, and to all after days a consummate critic and a true poet—to have been, to have achieved all this, is enough, is much.

'But seldom comes the Poet here,
And the Critic's rarer still!'

If each is rare taken singly how rare must the combination be! How rare it is!

T. HERBERT WARREN.

Art. X.—TARIFFS AND NATIONAL WELL-BEING.

1. *Modern Tariff History: Germany, United States, France.* By Percy Ashley. With a preface by the Right Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P. London: Murray, 1904.
2. *The Rise and Decline of the Free-trade Movement.* By W. Cunningham, D.D. Cambridge: Clay, 1904.
3. *The History of the English Corn Laws.* By J. S. Nicholson, D.Sc. London: Sonnenschein, 1904.
4. *The Tariff: a Review of the Tariff Legislation of the United States from 1812 to 1896.* By William McKinley. New York and London: Putnam, 1904.
5. *Protection in France.* By H. O. Meredith. London: King, 1904.
6. *Protection in Germany.* By W. H. Dawson. London: King, 1904.
7. *The National System of Political Economy.* By Friedrich List. Translated by S. S. Lloyd. London: Longmans, 1904.
8. *The Return to Protection.* By William Smart. London: Macmillan, 1904.
9. *Economic Method and Economic Fallacies.* By W. W. Carlile. London: Arnold, 1904.
10. *Free Trade.* By the Right Hon. Lord Avebury. London: Macmillan, 1904.
11. *Work and Wages.* Part I: Foreign Competition. By S. J. Chapman. With an introduction by Lord Brassey. London: Longmans, 1904.
12. *The Progress of the German Working Classes in the last quarter of a century.* By W. J. Ashley. London: Longmans, 1904.
13. *The Organization of Agriculture.* By E. A. Pratt. London: Murray, 1904.
14. *Second Series of Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts prepared by the Board of Trade.* [Cd. 2337.] London: Spottiswoode, 1904.
15. *Report of the Tariff Commission.* Vol. I: The Iron and Steel Trades. London: King, 1904.
16. *The Free-trader.* Vols I, II. Published by the Free Trade Union, 8 Victoria Street, Westminster.
And other works.

As the fiscal controversy proceeds, books take the place

of pamphlets, and speeches greatly multiply. The books, numerous as they are, range themselves into distinct classes. One class, which deals with the historical aspect of the question, includes the works in our list by Mr Percy Ashley, Dr Cunningham, Professor Nicholson, the late President McKinley, Mr Meredith, and Mr Dawson. Another series discusses the principles of political economy. Foremost amongst these is the classic work of List; other very valuable volumes are those by Professor Smart and Mr Carlile, both of whom discuss economic theories in relation to existing problems. A third class of works examines more closely the actual circumstances of national and international trade. This includes the treatises by Lord Avebury, Professor Chapman, and Mr Pratt, the new volume issued by the Board of Trade, and the first report of the Tariff Commission; while Professor W. J. Ashley enters upon a long, but not very convincing review of the condition of the working classes in Germany under Protection. If sound conclusions are not arrived at, it will not be from lack of guides. The first necessity, however, is to discover the actual issues as defined in the recent speeches of the leaders in fiscal reform.

In his very brief reference at Southampton to his own position, Mr Balfour stipulated that people should interpret his policy, not by other persons' commentaries, but by an examination of his own words. If words are clear, comments, no doubt, are useless. But are Mr Balfour's words clear? Lord Hugh Cecil, in his letter to the 'Times' of October 18, accepted the Edinburgh speech as dissociating Mr Balfour from Mr Chamberlain's Protectionism. The Duke of Devonshire, at Rawtenstall, could not imagine why Mr Balfour went out of his way to make that speech unless it was to repudiate 'the Protectionism which Mr Chamberlain is preaching.' Lord George Hamilton, at Ealing, declared that, if the speech had been made in the House of Commons last year, none of the free-trade members of the Cabinet would have felt it necessary to leave the Government. Mr Chaplin, on the other hand, finds no difference between Mr Balfour's Free Trade and Mr Chamberlain's Protectionism; and the Conservative party at Southampton accepted this view. To go to Mr Balfour's own words,

then, is absolutely necessary. 'What,' he asked, 'is a protective policy?' and he answered:—

'A protective policy, as I understand it, is a policy which aims at supporting or creating home industries by raising home prices.'

If he had said that a protective policy is one that supports or creates home industries by raising home prices, and that he would have nothing to do with such a policy, there would have been no room for cavilling. But he makes Protection depend upon the aim, and so lays himself open to Mr Chaplin's rejoinder: 'If the effect of the duty, whatever its object, be to protect,' the result is Protection. To make his meaning perfectly clear, Mr Balfour gave two illustrations. First, he said:—

'There are countries which are universally recognised as free-trade countries, but which yet have a general customs tariff for revenue purposes which is not balanced by a corresponding excise. Are these protective countries, or are they not? They are not, because the object of putting on the customs tax was revenue.'

It is, then, the object, not the effect, of the policy that, in Mr Balfour's opinion, determines whether a customs duty is protective or not. Clap a 20s. duty on imported wheat to raise revenue, and have no corresponding excise, and the customs duty will not be protective. Or adopt Mr Chamberlain's plan of reducing or removing the duties on food that is not produced in this country, and find compensation in wheat and meat taxes, and in duties on manufactured articles, and, on Mr Balfour's principle, there will be no Protection. The income-tax and the death-duties bring in about 40,000,000*l.* per annum. Abolish both, and make good the deficiency by an average tax of 50 per cent. *ad valorem* on imported manufactures (of course for revenue purposes only), and still there will be no Protection. On this theory, even the United States may claim to be a free-trade country.

Mr Balfour's second illustration was in these words:—

'I have always been in favour—that is part, indeed, of the Sheffield programme—of using our power of putting on taxation on foreign foods, where it seemed desirable, for the purpose of enabling us to negotiate arrangements with

foreign countries upon a basis favourable to our own manufacturers. Is that Protection?'

His answer is that it is not Protection; but the sentence in which he explains why it is not Protection is very confusing and is variously reported by different newspapers. What it seems to mean, however, is that a retaliatory duty would be a step towards Free Trade if the tax were 'paid by the foreigner and not by the British consumer' and therefore 'did not raise British prices,' while at the same time it 'induced the foreigner so to manipulate his tariff that the general cause of free interchange of goods' would be promoted. Here, then, we have Mr Balfour's own definition of his free-trade principles; and they are vital in this controversy. If the intention be to raise revenue, or to break down a foreign tariff, or to prevent dumping, it does not matter a pin whether—according to the first illustration—home prices are raised or not; the policy is not protective. By the second illustration, however, the raising of home prices is barred: the retaliatory tax must be paid by the foreigner. We must confess that we do not see any vital difference between Mr Balfour's views, as thus defined, and those of Mr Chamberlain, who has over and over again protested that the foreigner will pay the food taxes, while, on the question of Protection, he said, at an overflow meeting at Leeds:—

'If there is any one here in this hall who belongs to an industry that is going out of date, or cannot keep up with modern conditions, or that is purely artificial, or could be carried on better abroad, if there is any one of that character in this hall, I tell him frankly I do not propose to protect his industry.'

Nevertheless Mr Chamberlain's avowed intention is to protect native industries. His Protection is to be given to those industries that are not going out of date, that can keep up to modern conditions, that are not artificial, and that cannot be carried on better abroad. His pill is for those who are well, not for those who are ill. Mr Balfour, on the other hand, no longer objects to a general customs tariff—say Mr Chamberlain's average tariff of 10 per cent.—so long as it is proposed for revenue purposes; and he favours a fighting tariff against foreign high tariffs and dumping, without introducing the excep-

tions laid down by Mr Chamberlain, in the belief—which Mr Chamberlain at Luton endorsed—that retaliatory taxes will be paid by the foreigner and will not raise home prices.

If, however, there be no essential difference between Mr Balfour and Mr Chamberlain on the subject of Protection, there is one on the question of a colonial conference and Preference. On August 1, Mr Chamberlain said in the House of Commons that he entirely approved of Retaliation in principle, but was content to wait for details; and he thought Retaliation could be 'adopted at a much later stage,' whereas, if Preference were not adopted within a reasonable time, the offer would no longer remain open. Mr Balfour does not take this view at all. He places Retaliation first, and proposes a conference that could bring no practical results for years. He seeks to enter it pledged to nothing, and free to discuss everything affecting the empire, including colonial contribution to imperial defence. Mr Chamberlain is all in favour of this wider field of discussion; but at Luton he thought that, if the Colonies were invited to a conference not having authority to agree to taxes on food, or to conclude a bargain without reference to a plébiscite over the whole empire, they would be justified in regarding the invitation as insincere and in declining to attend it. The position, then, is that Mr Chamberlain, who initiated the fiscal controversy, insists that the first step in reform should be preferential tariff arrangements within the empire, and that Retaliation is not urgently needed; whereas Mr Balfour places Retaliation first, and would put off Preference indefinitely. One may well ask, in such circumstances, whether there can be any danger calling for a drastic remedy in either direction. For the present we propose to leave the ^{£5,000,000} ~~£5,000,000~~ aside, and to consider the broad question of Protection, which, of course, covers Retaliation as well. We begin with recognising that Mr Balfour's declaration in his 'Economic Notes'—'judged by all available tests, both the total wealth and the diffused well-being of the country are greater than they have ever been'—still holds good, and that he has never attempted to show that any particular trade or interest is in need of protection. He is still content to ask 'whether a fiscal system suited to a free-trade nation

in a world of free-traders remains suited in every detail to a free-trade nation in a world of protectionists.'

This, with Mr Balfour, is the crux of the whole question. Of course when he asks whether our free trade is suited 'in every detail' to conditions that may arise 'in all time,' no one would be so foolish as to say that it is. Time and circumstance must determine the policy to be pursued. But, if Mr Balfour's question be put in the only reasonable form that is possible, and it be enquired whether a free-trade nation can prosper in a protectionist world, an authority that should carry weight replies with an emphatic 'yes.' Mr Balfour's case against Free Trade rests on the fact that 'nationality has received an accession of strength' since Cobden's time, and that protectionist systems are segregating national industries. List was the great advocate of 'nationality' as against the cosmopolitanism of the Cobden school. 'I would indicate,' he writes in the preface to his 'National System of Political Economy,' 'as the distinguishing characteristic of my system, Nationality.' In this famous work he gave the tone to every argument that is used in all lands by the advocates of the principle of rendering nations self-dependent by the creation and preservation of varied national industries, and of regarding present cost as of little consequence in comparison with the ultimate benefits to be derived. All the arguments that are used by Mr Balfour and Mr Chamberlain now—even down to those about dumping—are, in fact, to be found in the pages of List, written more than sixty years ago. Yet we read:—

'History teaches us how nations which have been endowed by nature with all resources which are requisite for the attainment of the highest grade of wealth and power, may and must—without on that account forfeiting the end in view—modify their systems according to the measure of their own progress; in the first stage, adopting free trade with more advanced nations as a means of raising themselves from a state of barbarism, and of making advances in agriculture; in the second stage, promoting the growth of manufactures, fisheries, navigation, and foreign trade by means of commercial restrictions; and in the last stage, after reaching the highest degree of wealth and power, by gradually reverting to the principle of free trade and of unrestricted competition in the home as well as in foreign markets, that so their agriculturists, manu-

facturers, and merchants may be preserved from indolence and stimulated to retain the supremacy which they have acquired. In the first stage we see Spain, Portugal, and the kingdom of Naples; in the second, Germany and the United States of North America; France apparently stands close upon the boundary line of the last stage; but Great Britain alone at the present time has actually reached it.' (Transl. p. 93.)

In List's opinion, indeed, Great Britain's mistake was not the adoption of Free Trade when that policy was espoused, but failure to adopt it in 1815. Mr Chamberlain has more than once spoken of the possibility of our decline to the position of a third or fourth-rate or even, as he said at Welbeck, a fifth-rate power—to the state, as List has put it, of Spain or Naples—but he has failed to find statistics in support of his pessimism; and Mr Balfour's admission of the unparalleled wealth of the country, and of its general diffusion, forbids us to place Great Britain in any class lower than List's highest. If we have fallen back into the intermediate position, and France, Germany, and the United States have risen to the highest stage of economic development, then, indeed, it is time for us to return to Protection, and for our three great and successful competitors, in their own interests, to adopt Free Trade. This is List's theory; and there has been no more 'scientific protectionist' than he. But France and Germany, instead of admitting that they have reached List's highest stage, are raising their tariff walls higher; while the United States, though still clinging to Protection, is groaning under the tyranny of monopolies and yearning for a lowering of the protective tariff, and at least one of the two great American parties adopts the reduction of the tariff, if as yet hesitatingly, as a plank in its platform.

A wise policy does not aim at averting evils that may possibly present themselves fifty or a hundred years hence. It is therefore scarcely worth while to discuss Mr Balfour's fear that somewhere in the distant future the food-exporting countries of the present may supply themselves with all the manufactured goods they will require, and consume all the food they produce. Mr Chamberlain deals more directly with actualities, or at all events attempts to do so. His figures may be only used as illustrations, and his dead and dying industries

may show an inconvenient vitality; but he nevertheless puts before the country alluring promises. He is going to increase employment. His fiscal reforms may add to the cost of living, but he does not think so. His manipulation of the tariff may add to the burden of taxation, but he disputes that proposition. His new tariff may diminish imports and react upon exports, but he anticipates no such result, because the Colonies will, in his opinion, more than make good any loss there may be in the foreign trade. Mr Chamberlain has not proved any of these propositions; he invites the country to accept them on his authority, and trusts to his Tariff Commission to find good reasons and practical methods for carrying his policy into effect.

Unfortunately for Mr Chamberlain, he has made many definite assertions that facts do not support; and, when he asks to have his theories and promises accepted as gospel, these miscarriages are remembered. Old-age pensions need not be dwelt upon. At Greenock he said that within two or three years ten million tons of American iron would be dumped into this country. More than a year—a year of dull trade—has elapsed, and it has not begun to come. He said, ‘You will see many ironworks closed, and many others continued at a loss, struggling for better times.’ But it is in America that ironworks have been closed. ‘Hundreds of thousands of English workmen’ were to be thrown out of employment ‘to make room for hundreds of thousands of American workmen,’ who were to be kept in employment during bad times by dumping their products upon England. It has been in America that the ‘hundreds of thousands’ of unemployed workmen were to be found. Take another of Mr Chamberlain’s fables. At Leeds he said we must either pull down foreign tariffs or meet tariff with tariff, and the effect would be that, ‘instead of our manufacturers taking their work away, foreign manufacturers would bring their work here.’ At Limehouse, discussing the alien immigration question, he said the same thing. He had two contradictory propositions to prove, and his arguments were mutually destructive. He had to show that in protected countries the condition of the working classes was all that could be desired. This he proved in his usual way by his own assertion. Then he had to

prove that working people here were being ruined by hungry alien immigrants, and by the importation of the products of 'sweated' workers in his flourishing protected countries. Behind the wretched aliens who have flooded the East-end of London, and who have reached Leeds and Scotland, there are 'millions of the same kind,' Mr Chamberlain says; and yet he also asserts that in every protected country 'without exception' the working classes have been making more progress under Protection than British workmen under Free Trade. British capitalists, he says, are setting up works abroad. But American manufacturers have already opened great businesses here. Professor Carlile, arguing, in his excellent work on 'Economic Method and Economic Fallacies,' that Free Trade gives access to the widest market, quotes (p. 260) Mr Ewing Matheson, who asks why it is that

'under present conditions the manufacturers of the United States must come to this country if they wish to supply us or our colonies to advantage? The largest American boiler-makers have their works in Scotland; there also is the Singer's sewing-machine factory; Messrs Frazer and Chalmers of Chicago and San Francisco, the most notable manufacturers of mining machinery in the world, have their works near London; the largest makers and installers of electric plant in the world, the Thomson-Houston Company, are at Rugby; Westinghouse makes his electric machines and gas engines at Manchester; and the American Screw Company have their works at Leeds.'

'How,' Mr Carlile asks, 'could any or all of this be the case if it were true that Protection necessarily secured wider and safer markets than Free Trade?' Yet another American industry, it appears, is to be opened in this country. The 'Manchester Guardian' has announced (Dec. 1, 1904) that the American Car Foundry Company, which already has fifteen large works in the United States, has acquired a site at Trafford Park for erecting large works for the manufacture of railway wagons and carriages, and that the labour to be employed will represent 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* per annum. There is no need to abandon Free Trade in order to attract foreign capital.

At Leeds Mr Chamberlain further boasted of the success of the Sugar Convention, which we have since been

told by Mr Long was largely attributable to Mr Chamberlain. The Convention, he said, was carried by a threat of retaliation. And much good it has done us! At a cost to the nation of from 8,000,000*l.* to 10,000,000*l.* per annum we have, indeed, secured for the West Indies an advantage of something like 75,000*l.* a year, but we have also stimulated Swiss and French competition in the confectionery trades to the disadvantage of home workers and manufacturers. Mr Chamberlain himself, writing to Messrs Icke and Sharp of Birmingham on November 30, admits that continental confectionery of inferior quality is taking the place of confectionery previously supplied by this country, but he does not reply to Messrs Icke and Sharp's complaint that, owing to the Sugar Convention, Swiss manufacturers are able to buy sugar at less than half the price that British makers have to pay, and that, 'unless relief is forthcoming, the confectionery industry will be practically stamped out here owing to the importation of foreign confectionery.' So long as sugar in Switzerland—which is outside the Sugar Convention—is only half the price that it is here, it is useless to argue that sugar is dear here, not because of the Convention, but because of a short crop. The immediate result of the stoppage of the dumping of sugar has been a permanent loss of capital and a reduction, not an increase, of employment. When a statesman has thus erred in his prognostications as to the probable course of events in the immediate future, there is good reason for declining to accept, on his personal authority, theories of taxation that would uproot the existing system under which the country has prospered and still prospers.

When Mr Chamberlain descends to particulars, he is no more successful than when he prophesies or propounds general principles. At Welbeck and at Luton he spoke upon agriculture. At Welbeck he said:—

'There never was a prophet who was more unfortunate in his predictions than Mr Cobden, who promised that the repeal of the Corn Laws would stimulate the demand for agricultural labour. Has it done so? . . . It has thrown one half of the agricultural labour of the country out of employment. He told you that it would not throw a single acre out of cultivation or lessen production by a single bushel, but the producing

of corn in this country at the present time is less by sixty millions of bushels.' ('Times,' Aug. 5, 1904.)

If Mr Cobden held this opinion he was not alone in holding it. It was shared by List, whose conviction was that agriculture would flourish most when it had a great industrial market by its side. 'The most important division of occupations,' he wrote (p. 127), 'and the most important co-operation of productive powers in material production, is that of agriculture and manufacture. Both depend mutually upon one another.' Broadly speaking List and Cobden were right. Agriculture in England prospered greatly for fully twenty years after the Corn Laws were repealed. But it may be said there was a diminution in the number of people engaged in it; and that employment is the test. Yet employment is not the whole test; wages must be regarded too; and wages rose during that period. If the employment test is to be applied, it is necessary to look farther back. It was not under Free Trade that the decrease of the agricultural population began. Professor Nicholson, in his 'History of the English Corn Laws,' mentions (p. 119) that the families employed in agriculture declined from 35·2 per cent. in 1811 to 25·9 per cent. in 1841; that 'between 1821 and 1831 there was an absolute decrease in the number of families in agriculture, in spite of an increase of about 19 per cent. in the aggregate number of families in Great Britain'; and that after 1831, when the figures of the actual individual workers became ascertainable, there was an actual decrease in the number of adult males employed in agriculture, though there was an increase in the population of over two millions. This diminution was largely due to the increased use of improved agricultural implements and methods. If, however, Mr Chamberlain's contention be conceded, and it be admitted that under Free Trade the agricultural population has declined, proof is needed that the change has been disadvantageous to the worker or to the nation. He says himself that wages have risen, but that agricultural labourers are still the 'worst paid labourers in the United Kingdom.' If, under Protection, the rustic was worse paid than the artisan, why blame Free Trade for not improving his relative position? or why blame the labourer for quitting

agricultural for more remunerative employment? And, if the position of the labourer be eliminated, it is still necessary to show that the present condition of agriculture is less satisfactory than under Protection, and that what is unsatisfactory in it is due to Free Trade.

Mr Chamberlain says that the improvement in the condition of the agricultural labourer or the worker during the first thirty years of Free Trade was due to 'the development of trade, which was brought about by the progress of invention and by the discovery of gold in Australia and America, and which raised his wages and increased his employment.' Let this theory be accepted. Did invention and discovery of gold close in the early seventies? or have changes wholly apart from tariffs during the last, as in the preceding, thirty years, and as in the years between 1815 and 1845, exercised a more potent influence than tariffs upon agriculture since 1872? Everybody knows that the filling up of the fertile prairie lands of America and Canada, the introduction of labour-saving machinery, the improvement and cheapening of transit by sea and land, and cheap money, have been the most potent influences in cheapening agricultural produce during the last thirty years. To say in such circumstances that Free Trade has brought about all these results, while it had no influence previous to 1872, is either a recognition of its immeasurable indirect influence for good or a ridiculous misrepresentation of well-authenticated facts. If Free Trade has enabled protectionist America and Russia to sell wheat cheaply in England; if it has made it possible for protectionist New Zealand to place 'Canterbury Lamb' on English dinner-tables; if, because of it, Canada can give homesteads free of charge to hundreds of thousands of immigrants who consequently sit rent free; if it covers Australian plains with sheep until their owners can supply the world with wool—then, indeed, Free Trade has conferred immense benefits upon protectionist countries and colonies, and upon England as well.

If Free Trade has not refuted, it has necessitated a modification of the theory of List that agriculture prospers most when great national industries are carried on in the same country. It is not physical proximity that secures prosperity for agriculture, but cheapness of

production and of communication with industrial markets. Virgin or sparsely populated soil ensures cheapness of production; cheap iron and steel, cheap railroads and ships, perfected organisation and mechanical appliances, and, for perishable goods, refrigeration, ensure cheapness of communication with markets, so that American and New Zealand meat-producers, the wool-growers of Australia, South Africa, and Argentina, the wheat and fruit-producers and the ranchmen of Canada, the United States, and La Plata, can now reach the English market more readily than some farmers can who are living almost within sight of great centres of industrial population in England. These are the people whom Mr Chamberlain tries to persuade that a 2s. duty on corn and a 5 per cent. tax on other farm products, except bacon and maize, will restore prosperity to British agriculture and to land-owners their lost millions, bring happy times to farmers, increase employment, secure higher wages for agricultural labourers, and stop the migration of the rural population to towns or to foreign countries or to the Colonies—or to the workhouse. He 'bases his arguments upon the experience of foreign countries,' and he 'cannot help thinking that our neighbours in France, for instance, manage these matters better than we do ourselves.' Well, look at France, remembering Mr Chamberlain's declaration that the cause of misery before the repeal of the Corn Laws was 'not the price of corn, but the lack of employment.' An excellent history of 'Protection in France' has been written by Mr H. O. Meredith, who gives (p. 174) a statement of the percentage of unemployed returned by trade-unions in France and in the United Kingdom since June 1895. The table is too large for reproduction, but the yearly averages may be conveniently summarised as follows:—

Unemployed in	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
France	4.7	6.3	7.2	9.4	8.0	7.7	9.6	11.3
United Kingdom .	4.4	3.0	3.0	2.3	2.0	2.5	3.2	4.2

The percentage of unemployed unionist workers, who represent, as a rule, the most skilful and profitable labour

of the country, varies, it will be seen, from twice as many in France in 1896 to four times as many in 1899; and over the whole period there were 8 per cent. of unemployed in France compared with 3·1 per cent. in the United Kingdom. A striking feature in the comparison is that it is in the winter months that France compares to the greatest disadvantage with the United Kingdom. In the winters of 1898-99 and 1899-1900 the proportion of unemployed in France was from four to six times as large as the proportion in this country, and in subsequent years from twice to three times as many. If, then, employment be Mr Chamberlain's test, the experience of France is strongly against him. If the wages test be applied it is next to impossible to give an answer of any kind that will find general acceptance. It must necessarily be discussed in connexion with the cost of living, the purchasing power of money, working hours, conditions of work, regularity of employment, and other complex problems that afford innumerable possibilities of error. On matters of this kind the new Blue-book (Cd. 2337) is a mine of information embodying the results of original research into the cost of living, fluctuations in employment, pauperism, emigration, savings-bank deposits, and the effect of customs duties upon the price of food. But statistics are not collected and arranged on the same lines by Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States, and other countries; and accurate international comparisons are impossible. Tendencies only are illustrated; and, on the whole, the British figures are at least as indicative of steady improvement in the conditions of working-class life as those of any other country. In regard to employment and the cost of poor relief, they are especially favourable, and give no support to the theory that in protectionist countries the working population is making more progress than in England. Mr Meredith's conclusion is (p. 157) that 'Protection has caused French trade and French shipping to expand more slowly than would otherwise have been the case,' and (p. 185) that the same slackening tendency 'is seen in the statistics of wages, of working-class consumption, and of national wealth.'

Mr Chamberlain urges that the number of small holders of land should be increased, and remarks that,

with the 5,000,000 of small holders in France and the hundreds of thousands of small holders in Ireland, the bogey of the dear loaf has no meaning whatever. This may be; but it is something new to have Ireland with its peasant owners and congested districts held up for British imitation; and Mr Chamberlain destroys the force of his Irish illustration of the value of a small peasantry by insisting at Limehouse that, though 'Ireland is probably at this moment richer than it ever was in its whole history,' Irish agriculture has nevertheless been ruined, and no other industry has been found to take its place. So Ireland has become unprecedentedly wealthy while its only industry has been ruined in spite of its peasant proprietary! The existence of peasant proprietors in France was not brought about by Protection, any more than Protection, when we had it here, created a peasant proprietary in this country. Even before the great Revolution, when the French feudal system was broken up, peasants owned about one third of the soil of France; and, to get to the beginnings of peasant ownership in that country, we must go back for centuries. If Mr Chamberlain could create a peasant proprietary in Great Britain he would no doubt effect a great social and, it may be, a great economic revolution; but if such a peasantry would, as he says, be unaffected by the question of the big or the little loaf, it is not evident how a 2s. corn duty or a tax of 5 per cent. on meat would help them. On what can be done for agriculture by organisation we have a most valuable little work by Mr E. A. Pratt. His object, as stated by himself, is 'to give a general survey of that movement in favour of agricultural organisation which is now spreading practically throughout the civilised world.' After reviewing in detail agricultural conditions in almost every civilised country of the globe, he concludes that

'in foreign countries changes in agricultural methods and a widespread resort to combination have brought about remarkable improvements in agricultural conditions . . . that there is, at least, a prospect of England attaining to a practical scheme of agricultural combination on the lines successfully resorted to by foreign countries ten, twenty, or even five-and-twenty years ago; and that much more good is likely to result from encouragement of these efforts, and from a

genuine attempt on the part of the farmers themselves to co-operate among themselves and to adapt their methods to railway conditions, than would follow merely from a blind persistence in unreasonable complaints and more or less unfounded allegations.'

When protests are entered against returning to the old protectionist system, Mr Chamberlain replies :—

'I never had the slightest idea that we could go back to those old times before the abolition of the Corn Laws, in which it so happened that there was very little employment in manufacturing industries, and, at the same time, there was great distress amongst the agricultural classes.'

No doubt his intention is to limit himself to a low tariff, but he cannot speak for other people; and all foreign experience teaches that tariffs have an almost irresistible tendency to rise. A peasant proprietary in a country that does not export its agricultural produce is always in favour of protective duties, and is never satisfied with duties that do not protect. Professor W. J. Ashley points out (p. 54) that in the first half of the nineteenth century Germany was in advance of England in the practical application of the principles of Free Trade; and that Prussia, within the Zollverein, remained the champion of a relatively free-trade policy, 'because, among other reasons, her squirearchy was anxious to maintain its export of grain to England.' This, on the whole, remained the policy of the German agrarians until 1875, the year that 'represents the high-water mark of the free-trade movement in Germany.' France had precisely the same experience after 1815. The French agriculturists, who were interested in the exportation of wine and brandy to England, were in favour of a low tariff on English manufactures; but French manufacturers were violent protectionists, and so too were the farmers where the importation of wool and corn was concerned. Consequently, Protection was riveted on France, and was not materially relaxed, as Mr Percy Ashley shows in his 'Modern Tariff History,' until the Second Empire. Under Napoleon III,

'duties were reduced on coal, pig-iron, steel, wool, dye-woods, cotton, etc.; under the stimulus of a sharp rise in prices,

the rates on cattle, meat, wines, and other foodstuffs were lowered; and in 1853 the sliding scale regulating the movement of grain was suspended, free admission was granted to materials for shipbuilding, and the restrictions on foreign shipping were greatly reduced.'

At the present time America is entering upon a new era in which the West, which has heretofore been Free Trade, will probably gravitate towards Protection, and a manufacturing industry will clamour for Free Trade. That manufacturing industry is the flour-milling trade, which is beginning seriously to need Canadian wheat to keep its mills going. The farmers, no longer able to do more than supply the home market with wheat, will, on the contrary, demand effective protection from the introduction of Canadian wheat, upon which now a rebate of 99 per cent. of duty is being allowed when converted into flour for export. In all countries where agricultural and manufacturing industries exist side by side a time comes when conflict arises on the question of Protection.

French hostility to the fiscal policy of the Second Empire was reinforced by irresistible influences when, in 1871, the indemnity had to be paid to Germany. A high tariff became a necessity; but, as it was imposed for revenue purposes, Mr Balfour would deny that it was protective and call it free-trade. Whatever it was then, it is protective now. The French duty (*Cd.* 1761, p. 128) on wheat has increased elevenfold, on fresh meat twelvefold, on salt meat sevenfold, on butter eightfold, on cheese threefold, since higher protection was resumed; and since 1892 the duties on imported live cattle have been doubled. The tariff wall in France has steadily been raised higher, and what has been the result? Mr Percy Ashley (p. 357) sums it up thus:—

'In the great industrial and commercial expansion of the last decade of the nineteenth century France had little share; her coal and metal industries show progress which is satisfactory only if the growth elsewhere be ignored; on her textile industries (if cotton be excluded), even so moderately favourable a judgment seems hardly possible; her shipping is stationary. Agriculture is doing fairly well, with the aid of strong Protection, and opinions as to the condition of the peasantry are divided; but there is little movement forward.'

This accords with the conclusion of Mr Meredith previously quoted, and gives no encouragement to protectionist theories, or to Mr Chamberlain's hope that trifling customs duties will bring prosperity.

What is German experience? Germany, like France, was carried into Protection by the war of 1870, but by the operation of different economic influences. What caused Prince Bismarck to substitute Protection for his previous policy of Free Trade was confusion in the imperial finances and the inflation produced by the spending of the French milliards, followed by the inevitable collapse. The position is very well described by Mr Percy Ashley (pp. 54-58). Much of the indemnity was paid in bills of exchange and much in gold. The result was a great increase in imports, while exports remained stationary; public works were undertaken; prices rose; means of production were developed to excess; over-capitalisation and overproduction followed. The empire was soon in a position to supply more than its own needs. Just at this crisis bad harvests in England brought on depression here; and British manufacturers 'dumped' their products on Germany. America at the same time began to pour in food; and the imperial German exchequer ran short of money. Mr Dawson ('Protection in Germany,' pp. 28-30) tells the same story.

'The dispersal of the milliards upon railways, fortifications, and public works and buildings of various kinds, gave for a time great impetus to industry, and the iron and steel trades especially expanded enormously; but the eventual reaction caused wholesale disaster.'

'As wages had gone up with a bound . . . so they came down with a crash.' The 'depression reached its climax in 1876 and 1877,' when 'industry stood still and labour walked the streets idle and discontented.' These were the circumstances in which Germany adopted Protection. The movement, on Mr Balfour's theory, was a free-trade movement in so far as it was meant to replenish the treasury—and this was Bismarck's main purpose; in other respects it was protective; but the whole situation was the product of abnormal conditions. Germany had no reason to complain of want of progress under Free Trade. Within the Zollverein trade had flourished. Mr

Dawson says (p. 29) that the production of pig-iron was 905,000 tons in 1864, and had risen in 1869 to 1,413,000 tons; while the deposits in Prussian savings-banks, which were 5,400,000 thalers in 1835, became 12,500,000 in 1845; 32,200,000 in 1855; 143,500,000 in 1868; 172,000,000 in 1871, and 217,000,000 in 1872. In reverting to Protection Bismarck was influenced not so much by fiscal as by political considerations. The empire was young, and each state included within it had to contribute its quota of any deficit in the revenue that might remain after the imperial taxes had been applied to imperial expenditure. Bismarck dreaded the political effect of these matricular contributions on the solidarity of the empire, and wished to make the tax-revenue meet the whole expenditure, if not also to leave a balance for distribution amongst the several states. In opening the debate on the Tariff Bill on May 2, 1879, he declared that the condition of imperial finance imperatively called for reform; that the constitution presumed that 'the condition of matricular contributions should be a transitional one'; and that it was undesirable that the empire should be a burdensome boarder or a dunning creditor, while it might be a liberal provider for the individual states if only proper use were made of the revenues which the constitution put in the empire's way, but which hitherto had been disregarded.

To effect this transformation was Prince Bismarck's 'first motive'; but the matricular contributions still exist. At the present time they amount to 1,187,500*l.*; and there is some controversy as to the proportion in which they should be borne by the several states. Protection in Germany, therefore, has failed in its first object. Bismarck's second object was to substitute indirect for direct taxation. According to the euphemism employed by fiscal reformers, this is to 'broaden the basis of taxation'; it is so with the coal tax, the sugar tax, the corn tax, and similar imposts. Bismarck had a strong bias against direct and towards indirect taxation. 'I declare myself,' he said in the Reichstag on November 2, 1875, 'to be essentially favourable to the raising of all possible revenue by indirect taxes, and I hold direct taxes to be an onerous and awkward makeshift.' Has this policy succeeded? At the present time, as in former

years, Germany is face to face with a heavy deficit, but cannot venture upon increased internal taxation; and the tariff has been raised to the highest possible limit. The deficit is therefore being met by borrowing. Before the Boer war began, the United Kingdom had been steadily paying off the national debt by large annual instalments. Germany, under its protectionist system, has been as steadily building up a national debt in a time of peace. Herr Bebel remarked in the Reichstag on December 5, 1904, that since 1888 the imperial debt had increased fourfold; and he added that the great evil of the present system of finance is the practice of voting loans in aid of ordinary estimates. The Finance Minister, Baron von Stengal, had already, on December 4, warned the Reichstag that their system could not be continued indefinitely, and that the empire must be prepared for new taxes. This is not success. The Prussian tariff has failed in its second object.

Bismarck's third object was Protection. He said :—

'We ask for a moderate protection of national labour. We are far removed from any system of prohibition such as exists in most neighbouring countries, as, for example, in America.'

What was the underlying principle of the American system that Bismarck would not follow? Dr Cunningham, in his history of 'the Free-trade Movement,' shows (p. 59) that England's exclusion of foreign wheat caused other nations, 'in self-defence, to try to supply themselves with hardware and textiles as best they could.' America was in this way impelled to set up home industries, and very naturally determined to protect them. Mr McKinley, in 'The Tariff, 1812-1896,' quotes (p. 5) from Mr Clay's speech of March 31, 1824, the following passage, which, he says, 'is to this day a strong and effective argument for the protective policy':—

'The creation of a home market is not only necessary to produce for our agriculture a just reward for its labors, but it is indispensable to obtain a supply of our necessary wants. If we cannot sell we cannot buy. The sole object of the tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry with a view to promoting American industry.'

This was not Bismarck's object. It is Mr Chamberlain's.

But, like Mr Chamberlain, Bismarck's intention was to keep the tariff low. It is not necessary to review German economic history since the revival of Protection to show that the 'moderate' tariff of 1879 caused Germany's continental neighbours to raise their tariffs also; that it brought on tariff wars; that, after the tariff was carried higher in 1885, there was a reaction towards lighter duties in the Caprivi tariff of 1892; and that the expiration of the Caprivi tariff at the close of the year 1902 has been followed by a fighting and a conventional tariff, both of which are highly protectionist. It is, however, worth while to remember that, in supporting the high tariff of 1885, Bismarck said :—

'I hope that the price of corn may increase. I hold its increase to be necessary. There must be a limit beyond which the State must try to raise the price of corn.'

Prince Bismarck had the courage of his convictions, and did not pin himself to a 2s. duty on corn. The 1885 duties, however, did not keep up the prices of agricultural products; these steadily declined until the lowest point was reached in 1887. In Austria, Hungary, and Holland it was not reached until a year later, and in England, Denmark, and Russia not until 1889. In 1887, therefore, the agricultural tariff was further increased; state-railway rates were revised; and veterinary regulations were introduced, aiming at the exclusion of foreign live-stock. The general results, Mr Dawson finds (p. 97), were that

'dearer food, rising rents, and heavier taxation, combined to nullify the advantage of freer earnings; and the actual condition of labour was no better. In 1891 and 1892 the cost of living was higher in Germany than ever since Protection was reintroduced.'

'It is important to observe also' (Mr Percy Ashley remarks, p. 102) 'that the industrialisation of Germany is marked by the same general features as the economic history of England after the industrial revolution. There is the same rapid growth of the towns (an increase as astonishing as that of the American cities), and the same decline in the agricultural population, which in 1870 was about one half, and in 1900 about one third of the whole, having fallen both relatively and actually.'

Even under a protectionist system, therefore, Mr Chamber-

lain would have had to deplore a migration of the rural population to the towns. In spite of Professor Ashley's evidence of the increase in the number of peasant proprietors, agriculture in Germany is not in a happy condition. The landowners, Mr Dawson says (p. 233), after a quarter of a century's protection, 'plead perpetual impoverishment'; and the housing of the rural labourer 'is for the most part, not merely inadequate and primitive, but unworthy of human beings, while the poverty of the people makes domestic comfort out of the question,' (p. 231). It was by the power of the discontented agrarians that the excessively high tariff of 1902 was forced upon Count von Bülow; and it was pushed through the Reichstag against commercial and industrial opposition by a combination of clerical, Conservative, and National Liberal groups. Summing up the results of the economic policy of Germany during the last quarter of a century, Mr Dawson writes (p. 181):—

'A fair verdict upon Protection from the purely economic standpoint would be that, while it has undoubtedly preserved the home market for the home producers to a far larger extent than formerly, it has done this at the cost of the consumers. The manufacturing classes have greatly benefited; but their gain has been the loss of the rest of society. But an economy which does not promote the interests of society as a whole cannot by any right use of the term be called a national economy; it is a class economy, pure and simple. And this is what the policy of Protection has gradually become in Germany.'

This too, it may be remarked, is the accusation brought by Democrats against Protection in America. Mr McKinley, in 'The Tariff,' quotes (p. 49) the following Democratic 'declaration of principles' in the presidential campaign of 1876:—

'We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidise a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labour. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and

abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants.'

There is all the vigour of American phraseology in the denunciation; but the natural resources of the States and the opportunities of the home market are so great that the ill effects of Protection have not yet been realised by the American people, and even the Democrats are only free-traders of the Balfourian type.

To suppose that Protection is generally favoured in Germany would be a complete misapprehension. Mr Dawson remarks (p. 183) that 'the manufacturing and merchant classes are no more protectionist in a body than are the same classes in England,' and

'many of the most sagacious spokesmen of industry contend that a return to Free Trade would equip Germany far more efficiently than in the past to compete for trade on a large and imposing scale in the markets of the world.'

That is to say, these enlightened advocates of Free Trade are the true followers of List. They feel themselves handicapped by Protection. They believe that Germany has reached the highest stage of industrial development, and can now venture upon a contest with England on equal terms in the neutral markets of the world with better hope of success than is possible while they have to fight behind a high tariff that protects them at home but is a barrier to their progress elsewhere. Professor Ashley, strangely enough, concludes his review of the 'Progress of the German Working Classes in the last quarter of a century' with evidence in support of this opinion. He shows (p. 152) that German workmen are beginning to crave 'the English working time,' and that (p. 153) 'it looks as if the German working men were not likely to need our compassion much longer.' But his contention, of course, is that, though the conditions of life are better here, as Germany is coming up to the English level under Protection, she will soon leave England behind. If this were so, Germany would need no protection against England. Neither Germans, Frenchmen, nor Americans share

Professor Ashley's opinions; but they are the opinions of Mr Chamberlain.

We see then that, whether Protection has succeeded or failed in Germany, the experience of that empire negatives the theory that it can be kept within 'moderate' limits. French, German, and American examples all go to show that, the more a country protects itself, the stronger the demand becomes for a still higher wall; and that, only when the results of high Protection become intolerable to the mass of the people, can the vested interest of protected industries be overcome and some modification of the tariff be effected. The moderate Protection that Mr Chamberlain advocates would therefore inevitably become high Protection, under which trusts and combines might indeed be freed from dumping, but at the cost of all other interests in the country; while the diminution of imports that he seeks to effect would, if it came, produce a deficit in the national income and automatically react upon exports to the great detriment of all shipping interests and to the prejudice of the great exporting industries.

Are we then to sit still, to allow other countries that wall us out of their markets freely to enter ours, and to assume that so long as we have free imports all will be well? Far from it. But we may at least recognise that while, next to India, Germany and the United States are our largest customers, it is nonsense to speak of being excluded from their markets. We have also to recognise that for the security of our food supply, and the supply of raw materials, we need a world-wide market to buy in; and that a policy that aims at the creation of a self-contained empire necessarily aims also at a curtailment of the area from which we draw supplies, and involves all the dangers that would result from droughts in Australia, India, and South Africa, and frosts in Canada. When we examine in detail the conditions under which various industries are conducted and the nature of the foreign competition they have to overcome, it soon becomes evident that there is no universal pill by which the multiplicity of ailments that assail them may be cured. Each industry or group of industries has its own special difficulties and dangers. These must be ascertained before

they can be surmounted; and such as are not caused by Free Trade cannot be cured by its reversal.

Mr Chamberlain has appointed a Commission to enquire into and report on his fiscal proposals—their probable effect; whether any, and, if so, what modifications in them may be desirable; how conflicting interests may best be harmonised; and what, if any, duties should be imposed. The reference is obviously too narrow. It is not Mr Chamberlain's proposals only but all the conditions affecting British industries that need investigation. The first report issued by the Commission deals with the iron and steel trade, but it covers only a portion of the iron and steel industries; and a consideration of one section of allied industries that takes no account of the interests of other sections is of no practical value. Even this report, however, finds that defects in education, the burden of local rates, short working hours and high wages, heavy transport charges by land and water, and less perfect organisation, are amongst the influences that are adversely affecting the British iron and steel trades. Dumping is, of course, denounced; but it is not shown that the suppression of dumping, if that were possible, would not lead to high prices here, and inflict upon the engineering, machinery, shipbuilding, hardware, hollow-ware, and cutlery trades more harm than would be compensated for by the good that would be done to the iron and steel trades—that, in fact, the most highly skilled trades would not be injured for the benefit of the more elementary and less profitable industries. After all, it has to be remembered that there is an automatic check upon dumping, and that, as is well said by Professor Chapman in 'Work and Wages' (p. 14), the amount which it may pay to sell abroad at a low price cannot be indefinitely increased. This has been demonstrated by the Steel Trust failing to dump in accordance with Mr Chamberlain's prophecy.

Professor Chapman finds that in American coal-mines in 1900 there were 3907 coal-cutting machines at work, and that these machines reduce the cost of coal-getting between 15 and 17 per cent.; that compressed-air locomotives and electric motors are rapidly taking the place of mules underground, and are effecting further economies; and that a coal-elevator has been invented which is

expected to do for 10*d.* per ton what has been costing from 1*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* The result of American methods is that the average price of American coal at the pit's mouth is given as 5*s.* 3½*d.* against 10*s.* 9¾*d.* in the United Kingdom, though wages are higher in America. There is no possibility of equalising matters by a customs duty here. The remedies lie on the surface, if the American methods are applicable in English mines. If they are not, a tariff will not help us. Turning to the iron and steel trade, it should be remembered that there has been no displacement of labour in Great Britain; the output continues to increase, but at a less rapid rate than in Germany or the United States, whose population also exceeds that of this country. The Chamberlain Commission finds that iron and steel can be produced here as cheaply as elsewhere. This, then, may be taken as granted. But Prof. Chapman quotes the late Sir Lowthian Bell (p. 63) as writing in 1867 that

'among the higher officers engaged in French mines and ironworks you will find, more frequently than is the case with ourselves, gentlemen of considerable attainments in the physical sciences.'

In 1886 there had been some improvement; but still Sir Lowthian Bell wrote:—

'There are to be found instances of highly educated men attached to the laboratories now so common in our large ironworks; but I am not sure whether chemists of the higher class are not more frequently met with on the continent of Europe than in British establishments.'

In 1896 a delegation from the British iron and steel trade visited Germany and were astonished at the perfection of German workshops. Major Patchett had never seen works 'where the administration was so perfect, where the machinery was so good, and where we could teach them so little.' The report of the delegation, as summarised by Professor Chapman (p. 77), says that,

'while we fully recognise the advances made in this direction in English industry, we were considerably impressed with the general application of mechanical arrangements for relieving labour of its more exhausting characteristics. . . . A German director remarked to a party of delegates visiting the works under his charge: "We can compete and make profits because

of the scientific basis of our manufacture and the technical education of our workpeople. . . . Every one of our foremen and managers has had a two years' special education at the cost of the firm—a technical and scientific education.”

Another point in connexion with German advantages mentioned by Professor Chapman (p. 71) is that, in 1886, ‘English puddlers pursued the doubtful policy of doing only a fixed quantity of work per day, whereas foreign puddlers laboured uninterruptedly throughout the normal day.’ These extracts show, with regard to the iron and steel trade, not only that Great Britain is educationally behind the Continent, but that it has been so for forty years; and that in this respect we are inferior to the United States also, for the German workshops are improvements upon the American model. There is no question as to Protection or cartels or dumping; England has to recover the lead in respect of scientific research, technical instruction, labour-saving machinery, and workshop organisation; and the working classes must put both their backs and their brains into their work. It is admitted that in capacity they have no superiors.

But when all has been done there are other broad conditions of success in trade that have to be recognised. In 1876 an English engineer obtained from Germany, for use in Holland, a quantity of bridge work that was cheaper than British work of the same kind and quality. The explanation, says Prof. Chapman (p. 69), was that

‘the extent to which rolled girders were introduced by foreign architects into their designs had caused a large demand for such metal work, with the result that excellent specialised mills were established to produce it, and that foreign work of this character became cheaper and better than English work of the same kind, and was more expeditiously executed.’

Here we have the secret of British success in some important industries, the secret of foreign success in others, and the secret of success both here and abroad in branches of industry that are not specialised. The broad fact is that industries tend to be specialised in those places where most work of the same kind can be done. Great Britain has specialised shipbuilding, cotton-spinning, and weaving, and the woollen and worsted industries. But there is nothing to prevent other nations competing successfully

in those cotton manufactures that are not specialised in Lancashire, or in woollen products that are not specialised in Yorkshire or in the West of England. Hence France and Germany and India can make cotton goods that do not actually compete with the Lancashire products, but which, if Lancashire goods fail to keep in public favour, may displace them; just as French woollen cloth may displace British cloth, if Bradford or the West of England does not set up machinery to make similar stuffs. France specialises silk manufactures, and defies competition in the specialised article; but British silk manufacturers may and do compete successfully with Lyons in the silk products that Lyons has not specialised. America, with a great home market for locomotives and bridges, agricultural and mining machinery, has specialised these branches of industry, and need not, one would think, ask for their protection; but British makers can compete successfully where the standard is departed from and special patterns are required. If these facts, which are abundantly illustrated by Professor Chapman, be appreciated, it will be seen that the increase in the importation of manufactured goods which so greatly excites Mr Chamberlain is no cause for alarm, and, as a rule, is a source of profitable trade. Nottingham, for example, supplies lace to Germany of a kind that the Germans do not make, and buys from Germany lace that can be made cheaper there than in Nottingham. The trade is of mutual benefit. Similarly Bradford excels in the finishing of certain woollen products, and Belfast in the finishing of certain linen goods; and in both cases continental manufactures are imported to be finished at Belfast or Bradford. A tax on the importation of these unfinished manufactures would not cause them to be made at Bradford or Belfast; it would induce the foreign manufacturers to do the finishing themselves; and British trades would lose employment and the profit on the final sales.

This broad survey of the influences that are affecting manufacturing industries abroad and at home indicates the lines on which remedies for any dangers that exist must be sought. Five per cent. duties on food cannot compensate for defects in organisation, or enable railways carrying agricultural produce to quote 'truck-load' rates

for small parcels. Nor can ten per cent. duties on manufactured products compensate for English backwardness in chemical research and in the application of chemistry to industry. There are, no doubt, in England chemists as distinguished as are to be found on the Continent; there may be mining engineers here as competent as any in America; and in the iron and steel trade there may be, and we believe there are, scientists as good as any in the world. Nevertheless, in this country, both scientific attainment and the appreciation of it by employers are on a lower level than in competing countries. In the textile industries British manufacturers have little or nothing to learn from other nations; and, if they have not put down machinery with which to compete with the foreigner in the production of special yarns or special kinds of cloth, they have had good reasons for not doing so. When the time for action comes they may be trusted not to miss it. It will be seen that the obvious remedies for existing dangers divide themselves into two classes—those that must be left entirely to the various industries concerned, and those that must be undertaken or assisted by the State. If research and the application of science are to have fair play, employers of labour have only to show their appreciation of the value of science. If the study of languages is to be encouraged, merchants have only to appreciate such knowledge at its proper worth. And if trade methods in England are to be placed on a level with those abroad, the organisation of workshops, the use of labour-saving machinery, business administration and trade-union methods must all be overhauled in the light of the most recent experience.

Too much importance should not be attached to the 'big industry' argument. There was a time when big farms were held to be the most profitable form of agricultural industry; now small farmers are to save the State. Small industries employ more people than the great industries, and small men can succeed where great combinations fail. Manufacturers have kept up the tradition that the best article is the cheapest; now economy is held to consist in making a low-priced article that will answer its purpose, instead of a costly one that will last for all time. Workmen have fought to establish

a uniform output that is usually measured by the capacity of the least competent men, and have kept wages at a dead level, to the disadvantage of the best workers and of employers who have put down machinery that is not allowed to run to its full capacity. A new method should not be beyond discovery by which each workman should be allowed to profit to the utmost by his personal competence, and labour-saving machinery be worked to its full capacity.

State remedies must be of general application. Educational needs are at last being met. Science and technical instruction are being vigorously taken in hand by the universities, especially those of modern date, by county councils, and by the great municipalities; and there are probably no more efficient educational institutions of their kind than the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Municipal School of Technology at Manchester, the School of Commerce and the Museum and Technical School at Liverpool. The provision of educational institutions of the highest class has, in fact, outstripped the appreciation of technical, scientific, and commercial education by the average merchant and employer of labour. It is the employer who needs education most; and how is the State to educate him when the only school in which he will learn is the bitter one of experience? He will not learn his lesson the sooner if he be sheltered behind protective duties or be given preferential entrance into British colonies. What the State can do is to amend laws, whether affecting land, capital, or labour, that stand in the way of progress; to pursue at home and abroad a policy of prudence and economy; to keep the national debt and national taxation at a level that will not cripple industry, but will ensure a wide margin of credit and taxable capacity should untoward contingencies arise; and to promote, by legislation, social reforms—rating, housing, and licensing reforms—that will react upon the physique and the morals of the people. These are not heroic remedies, but without them the nation cannot prosper. With them there is no reason why its future should not be even more prosperous than its past.

Art. XI.—THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST.

THE great campaign in the Far East comes as a timely reminder that all the knowledge of the art of war was not to be learnt on the illimitable veldt. We cannot fail to see at a glance, no matter how superficial may have been our study of the great conflict now raging, something of the vast and still largely unexplored difference between regular and irregular war, between method and haphazard, between preparation and improvisation.

The South African war did much for the British army. It destroyed many debilitating influences that had been permitted to fasten themselves upon its traditions; it overthrew many cherished idols, prejudices, and reputations; it gave all ranks in all branches experience in field-craft and skill at arms, dearly won but greatly needed; while, above all, it taught our army the lost secret of mobility, and refused us peace until mobility was attained. But South Africa taught us nothing of maritime warfare; and certain of the lessons in military tactics provided by the Boers received undue prominence in the text-books and unofficial writings which were published during or after the war. We had not met an enemy with the genius, the numbers, the discipline, or the organisation required for the conduct of operations on a grand scale; we had no cavalry of the regular type against us; nor were we opposed by modern quick-firing batteries such as are now employed by the most progressive armies of Europe. We took great liberties, and finding that these liberties remained unpunished, we allowed ourselves license.

No one who has visited a great camp of exercise at home or in India, during the drill seasons subsequent to the war, can fail to have been struck by the adoption of so-called Boer tactics by all arms. Long and widely extended lines of infantry scattered for miles along hill and dale; mounted troops, full of guile, playing at puss in the corner with their fellows on the opposite side; guns taking little thought of cover, and ranging themselves on dominating positions regardless of exposure—such is the present practice at our manœuvres.

Much of this procedure might have been commendable had South Africa remained our greatest and most probable theatre of future war. But war in South Africa, we may reasonably hope, is a thing of the past. If we have every reason to regret that the conditions of a campaign in South Africa were unknown to politicians, soldiers, and the press before Mr Kruger launched his ultimatum, there is assuredly no reason for training our army to meet conditions that have passed away. The future lies before us; and it is not so clear of storm portents that we can afford to neglect the omens. Moreover, if we take a more general view and recall the larger lessons of the Boer war, we must feel very serious doubts whether we have profited, as we should have done, by the Report of Lord Elgin's Commission. That body declared that we had not enough trained men to meet the emergency when it came upon us, even when all our reserves were employed; and, if we look round and study our present liabilities and the very insignificant assets that we possess, we cannot rest satisfied with the existing situation.

The importance of the campaign in the Far East resides for us in the fact that (excluding the Spanish-American war) it is the first great maritime war in which modern armoured fleets have fought; that it exposes the relations that should exist between politics, war, and finance; emphasises the necessity for the close co-operation, not only of army and navy, but of all departments of State, for the prosecution of national ends; and finally, tells us with brutal frankness that war, regular war, is a very serious business indeed—something, in short, which relegates South Africa to the position of a side issue, and makes, according as victory or defeat ensues, for the happiness or misery of all classes of the people, from highest to lowest. The present generation of Englishmen has never been the protagonist in a national war of this character. Not since the days when the people of these islands numbered but fifteen million souls, largely self-supporting, have they been called upon to confront such a trial of strength, tenacity, and patience. We have lost sight of the elemental conditions of national war; and, if it is bad for our repose to be reminded of them, it is indispensable for our security.

The earlier part of the struggle has so often been narrated that we need not dwell upon it at length here. Hostilities began without declaration of war on the afternoon of February 8, 1904; and during the following night and day a blow was dealt at the Russian squadron lying in fancied security at Chemulpo and under the guns of Port Arthur, from which, morally speaking, it never recovered. Everything that Russia possessed afloat in the Far East, or on the way thither, was either snapped up by the Japanese, driven into port, or forced to put back. The command of the sea passed for the time into Japanese hands; and by reason of this success the invasion of Manchuria became practicable.

Japan was not prepared for such rapid success, and had not taken complete measures to profit by it. Despite a free sea, it was not until nearly three months after the outbreak of war that she had two armies ready to enter the field, one on land in north-western Korea, south of the Yalu, and a second still on board its transports near the Hall group of islands off the west coast of the Korean peninsula. But by the 1st of May Japan was ready to strike and struck hard. Her first army, under General Kuroki, crossed the Yalu, defeated an inferior force of Russians in a strong position, and drove back the remnant in disorderly flight towards Liaoyang. This success cleared the air and allowed Japan to direct her second army upon the Liaotung peninsula. But before venturing her transports within striking distance of the Russian squadron at Port Arthur, it was necessary for Japan to render these Russian ships as far as possible innocuous, so that nothing might interfere with the critical operation of landing an army upon an open and difficult beach. The successful blocking of the channel into Port Arthur took place before daylight on May 3; and, immediately the success was recognised, the second army steamed across the Yellow Sea and began to land in all security. A more perfect example of scientific co-operation between land and sea forces modern history does not record.

But, despite a free sea and no opposition worth considering, Japan, with 600,000 tons of steam transport on her books, took three months to transport across the sea two armies, complete for war, and aggregating about

120,000 men with 200 guns. It is necessary to recognise the limitations, in respect of a grand invasion from overseas, even on the part of an insular Power endowed with genius and capacity for elaborate preparation, since the long delay inseparable from the successful transport of these armies across the water is of a nature to show us something at least of the difficulties of one of the greatest and most serious operations of war. We must also recognise that these two armies were not despatched from Japan simultaneously, and that the numbers that our ally has apparently been able to unite in a single body of transports are represented by the 60,000 men and 100 guns which the second army threw ashore at Pitszewo during the second week in May. If we may admit that these armies possessed the men, horses, guns, stores, supplies, and carriages necessary for the prosecution of their mission, and were thereby effective instruments for the purposes of war, we must also acknowledge that the numbers of fighting men despatched in a single armada were not considerable, despite exceptionally favourable conditions, namely, free exit from Japanese ports, a free sea, and a free landing in the theatre of war.

So long as we possess a navy, wisely directed and superior to that of our European neighbours, the conditions which prevailed in the Yellow Sea in the spring of last year can hardly recur in our home waters. A surprise invasion, which is in itself almost a contradiction in terms, is becoming more and more improbable every day; and, so long as our agencies of information are not starved, it is impossible to reckon upon success in any such undertaking. As an operation devoid of the element of surprise, recent experience shows that an oversea invasion is a lengthy business; and, though circumstances are conceivable which would render such an attempt possible, the chance of success would be infinitesimal. Far from causing us to revert to pernicious heresies now happily exploded, the circumstances of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria may rather be regarded as of a reassuring nature. They tend to show that our naval authorities are within the bounds of justifiable optimism in declaring that they can prevent any similar effort against our shores. But we must add the proviso that such an assurance can only be taken as a fundamental

axiom of national strategy and state-craft so long as the ordinary dictates of prudence are followed by the Admiralty—a point to which we shall presently recur.

Russia was unprepared for war. Her policy was militant, aggressive, and imperious; but the material power required to support the arrogance of her claims was wanting. Not more than 150,000 men of her land army were in the Far East; her only means for reinforcing them was a single line of railway; and the transport of a battalion from Moscow to Port Arthur occupied six weeks. Her preparations at the seat of war were out of proportion with her military strength. She had two great maritime strongholds to garrison and defend. Neither of these covered the main lines of advance of a Japanese army upon Mukden, nor directly aided the operations of the Russian field army. They were, on the contrary, a serious drain upon Russian resources; and their defence, which was immediately taken in hand, absorbed very largely for many weeks the strength of the field forces and the traffic of the railway. They were the legitimate supports of a dominant fleet and the complement of military strength on land. They were not, and in their essence could not be, a substitute for one or the other. Russia had not had time to grow into her defences on the Pacific shore: strategically considered, these great fortresses were a misfit.

The danger was recognised by a few of the best Russian generals, not only when war broke out, but before it. Yet the abandonment of Port Arthur was too great a sacrifice for Russian pride; and, in view of the early disasters of the navy, the idea of withdrawal was scouted. If the Japanese desire to possess Port Arthur, it was said, let them come and take it. We hold in Port Arthur the most impregnable of all first-class fortresses, and we shall defend it to the last. With this view, General Kuropatkin, who had, with characteristic self-sacrifice, relinquished his post of Minister of War to conduct a campaign to which he had been resolutely opposed, was forced to deplete his field army for the benefit of Port Arthur. The garrison was made up to 30,000 men, exclusive of the navy, which had originally about 12,000 men with the blockaded squadron. Stores,

food, and ammunition were poured into the place before the Japanese landed; and subsequently, from Chinese and other ports, a lucrative trade began in blockade-running—easy enough so long as a large area of the Kwantung promontory remained in Russian occupation.

The margin of superiority in naval force with which Japan opened the war was inadequate for the fulfilment of her naval task with the desired completeness. Vladivostok, with its double exit, its coasts ice-bound for many months, and hard of approach by reason of fog, was a difficult port to watch. Here Russia had stationed four great cruisers; nor can we say, from the history of the naval campaign, that she has suffered any disadvantage from that fact. Japan could not watch both ports with the necessary superiority of strength; she therefore restricted herself to her main task at Port Arthur and left a residue of ships in the Straits of Korea to engage the Vladivostok cruisers should they put to sea. If this policy has not been crowned with unmingled success, it has proved on the whole sound; and, save for fugitive raids against coastwise trade and the sinking of two military transports, Russia has not hitherto scored a single point at sea.

The dispersion of effort between Port Arthur, Vladivostok, and the field army, together with the watch and ward along a wide strategic front, left Kuropatkin, at the outset, in no condition to hold the field. The Japanese second army stormed the lines of Nanshan on May 26, thus opening the road into Kwantung. It then handed over the duty of prosecuting the siege of Port Arthur to a third army, under General Nogi, and prepared to march north to co-operate in the general advance with the first army at Fenghwangchenn, and with a fourth army which began to land between the two wings at Takushan. The Russians never anticipated that Nanshan would fall to a day's assault. They expected that General Stössel's army in the Kwantung promontory would be an important and movable piece on the strategic chess-board; and soon after the Japanese second army landed and moved down upon Nanshan, Kuropatkin attempted a counter-offensive from the north. But the strength required for success was wanting, and the effort was at once too early and too late. The Japanese second army

was ready first, and, tackling Stackelberg's 40,000 men at Telissu with remarkable rapidity and decision, inflicted upon them, on June 15, a disastrous defeat.

The Pacific squadron, meanwhile, had not been wholly quiescent. On April 13 it had been coaxed out to sea and then driven back over a prepared mine-field, where the flagship 'Petropavlovsk,' with Admiral Makaroff on board, went down with almost her entire crew. On June 23 the Russian squadron again put to sea, and it was then recognised, for the first time, that the repairs of the warships injured during the torpedo attack of the night of February 8 had been successfully executed. Nevertheless, although the Russians had every reason for engaging with the utmost resolution, the advantages of the surprise and of their superiority in battleships were thrown away; and the squadron retired to harbour after a lame and impotent demonstration.

The operations in the main theatre of war were meanwhile pursued by the Japanese with some deliberation, but with complete success. During the month of June Kuropatkin had been largely reinforced. He held all the chief entrances to the Liao valley from Kaiping, on his right, through the Taling and Fenshuiling passes to the Motienling, at all of which points there were strong garrisons well entrenched. In the rear, at Tashihchiao, Haicheng, and Liaoyang, were massed his reserves, which were growing in numbers day by day. The three armies of Japan advanced on a broad front; and on June 27 all the passes fell to their assaults. The Russian centre and right concentrated at Tashihchiao and Simucheng, and were driven from their positions on July 24 and 31. Their left endeavoured to recapture the Motienling on July 17, and was badly beaten; other engagements followed in this mountain region, in all of which the Japanese were successful. By August 3 Niuchwang and Haicheng were taken without opposition; and the reunion of the three Japanese armies was secured. Kuropatkin withdrew to Liaoyang and its vicinity, determined there to offer a strenuous resistance and to bring the period of retreats to a close.

It was not until the third week in August that Marshal Oyama was ready to engage. The general line

of his advance with the second and fourth armies was direct upon Liaoyang from Haicheng. The first army, securely posted in the mountains, was destined to descend upon the Russian left flank and to deal the decisive blow. In all, the Japanese possessed, it is supposed, about 180,000 men upon the ground, and anticipated victory, not only because of equal or, as was thought at the time, of superior numbers, but on account of the considerable moral advantages derived from four months of uninterrupted success. But they had reckoned without their host. They had correctly measured the ability of the Russian leader and the limitations of the Russian troops, but they had not recognised that their most capable and dangerous antagonist was far away. Prince Khilkoff, Russian Minister of Ways and Communications, is, in a measure, the central figure of the war. It has been almost solely due to his American training and abundant personal energy that Russia has been hitherto spared one of those overwhelming disasters that occur but once or twice in a century of war.

When the campaign opened, the condition of the railway was deplorable from a strategic standpoint. It was broken at Lake Baikal into two sections. Eastward of the lake, rolling stock was deficient, while shops and repairing machinery were inadequate, and sidings wanting for the heavy traffic of the line. It was also certain that with the thaw Lake Baikal would be closed to traffic for three weeks. Prince Khilkoff journeyed to Irkutsk, and at once displayed his remarkable powers as *deus ex machina*. He hurried forward the completion of the line round the southern end of the lake, and, directly the surface was hard set, laid down rails across the ice, and transported to the east bank large numbers of locomotives, trucks, and wagons. A sledge service was improvised from local resources; and throughout the spring a continuous flow of troops, stores, and supplies was maintained. Not content with this, he collected thousands of men and women along the whole length of the railway, and set to work to improve the facilities for troop transport by doubling the line in certain sections, by the construction of sidings, the improvement of stations, and the collection of supplies of fuel and water.

This great national effort proved the salvation of the

Russian army of Manchuria. Long before the issue was joined between the main armies at Liaoyang the situation had materially changed. In place of the four or six military trains which Russia could despatch to the East when the war opened, she found herself able to rely upon nine early in the spring, and by the end of July this number was increased to twelve. In six months Prince Khilkoff had practically doubled the output of the line; while upon the sections west of Irkutsk it was found possible to raise the number of trains to a maximum of eighteen. When, therefore, after seven months of war, the concentrated field armies of the belligerents were at last in presence in the neighbourhood of Liaoyang, the scales had temporarily turned in Russian favour. Kuropatkin had over 200,000 men under his hand, and had probably a superiority of effective fighting force at his disposal. Moreover, it is believed that the Japanese had calculated on the success of the grand attack on Port Arthur (August 14-24) setting free a large part of the besieging army to strengthen Kuroki on their right. The failure of that attack forced them to engage Kuropatkin with inadequate resources. The Japanese calculations had been carefully made in relation to the conditions which were known to exist. On the results were based the plan of campaign and the whole procedure and economy of reinforcements. But neither the energy of Prince Khilkoff nor the success of his work was realised in time; and in asking the Japanese army, slightly inferior in strength, and with artillery also inferior to the Russian in range, rapidity of fire, and shell-power, to assault a strongly fortified position, defended by the field army of Manchuria, Marshal Oyama set his troops a task too great for mortal men to perform with absolute success.

Liaoyang was the military capital of the Russians in Manchuria. A considerable Russian cantonment had grown up round the railway station, which was itself adapted to great movements of troops by the existence of numerous sidings and platforms. Here were stored the supplies and fodder for the army of operations; here were the magazines, hospitals, depots, and those establishments which grow up round an army in the field; while the Chinese town, with its 60,000 inhabitants, was in itself of great utility for the purpose of meeting the wants of a

great army. The position was at the junction of the two roads leading to Korea and the Liaotung peninsula; it rested upon a chain of low heights running in a semi-circle round the south and east of the town; and for several miles of this frontage the defences were very formidable. In rear ran the Taitse river, unfordable at this season in its lower reaches, and traversed by a railway viaduct and four military bridges.

When the Japanese advanced on August 23, the Russians occupied a wide front, forty miles long, to south and east of this main position. To the south the greater part of the Siberian troops held Ansanshan, while to the east two army corps from western Russia occupied the line of the Tangho. Against this latter front the Japanese first army, under Kuroki, struck hard between August 23 and 26, and by nightfall on the latter date had driven a wedge into the Russian position. This success was followed up the next day, when the whole line of the Tangho fell into Japanese hands, and the Russians beat a retreat upon their main position. These incidents entailed a withdrawal of the Russian troops at Ansanshan, and this position was promptly occupied by the Japanese, who now prepared for an assault on the main position.

At dawn on August 30 the second and fourth Japanese armies opened a severe bombardment upon the front of the Russian defences, and for two whole days and nights endeavoured unsuccessfully to oust their enemy from his strong position. It had been intended that General Kuroki, with the first army, should cross the Taitse and fall upon the Russian rear; but the severe struggle on the Tangho, which was prolonged on the left of Kuroki's force until August 28, had somewhat exhausted this army. It was not with more than a division and a half that the passage of the river was effected on the night of August 30. Kuropatkin recognised the danger and took prompt steps to meet it. He withdrew the bulk of his army across the bridges, and, continually reinforcing the troops opposing Kuroki, found himself strong enough to attack on September 2 with very preponderating numbers. For a time the Japanese first army was in a position of serious danger; but the rest of Kuroki's divisions poured across the Taitse in support, and Kuropatkin's advance

was not only checked but driven back with heavy loss. Both sides were now absolutely exhausted. Kuroki could do no more than hold his ground; his colleagues of the second and fourth armies were indeed able to seize the main position in their front at dawn on September 1, but were unable to drive the Russian rear-guard from a second position round the town of Liaoyang in time to co-operate with Kuroki's movements. The Russians, on their side, were also incapable of further effort, and only managed to crawl away, by September 3, to the line of the Yentai branch railway, where their scattered troops were collected preparatory to a further retreat.

The Japanese commander did well not to continue the pursuit. Tactically, his blow had succeeded; strategically, it had failed. What promised to be a signal and decisive victory, with immense military and political consequences, ended in a hardly won success, which had no serious influence upon the course of operations, since the Russian army, despite heavy losses, remained intact. The fighting had revealed the secret of the Russian railway, and it became indispensable for Japan to arrest the progress of her armies in order not to risk a possible reverse and so lose the fruits of her splendid sacrifices. It must have been abundantly clear to the statesmen and soldiers at Tokio that Prince Khilkoff's victories over time and space had changed the situation, and that it had become necessary for Japan to enlarge her views and to expand the forces assembled upon the theatre of war.

When, therefore, Kuropatkin retreated to Mukden, and sent part of his army back as far as Tieling, the Japanese advanced no farther than the branch line to the Yentai mines. It was necessary to restore the railway to Liaoyang, and, by road, rail, and river, to bring up reinforcements, supplies, and ammunition. The Russians, on their side, were in no spirit or condition for immediate movement; and several weeks passed without any change at the front or any serious engagements. But meanwhile Russian reinforcements came up apace; and with each infusion of new blood courage rose and bolder schemes were put forward. The Russian general had undertaken to attack when his army reached a certain strength which he had fixed. These numbers were under his hand by the end of September; the news from Port Arthur was bad; and, thoroughly impressed

with the necessity of a great victory for Russia, Kuropatkin dared to put his fortunes to the touch. On October 2 there was published to the army an order of the day, in which Kuropatkin announced that the moment for the advance had come, declared the main object to be the relief of Port Arthur, and assured his army that the will of the Tsar that the foe should be vanquished would be inflexibly fulfilled. A couple of days later the great army, which had grown to nearly a quarter of a million of men, broke up from its camps north of the Hun and began its advance. Thanks to the publication of Kuropatkin's order of the day, the Japanese were fully warned of the impending stroke. They occupied a semicircular position facing north and east, from a point near Yentai on the railway through the mines to Penhsihu on the Taitse, a front by no means excessive for the numbers at their disposal, probably about 200,000 men.

Kuropatkin's idea seems to have been an enveloping attack upon Liaoyang, where he expected the enemy to stand. For this purpose he formed his troops into three armies with a reserve. His right, composed of the army corps from western Russia, was ordered to march along the railway, making good each position as it advanced; his centre had the task of prolonging the line and of maintaining touch with the left; while the latter was ordered to secure the valley of the Taitse about Penhsihu, and thence to strike down the river upon the Japanese flank at Liaoyang. It was, in short, the Japanese plan of the battle of Liaoyang with the rôles reversed. The Russian left, to which was confided the most decisive action, was composed of the whole of the original garrison of Manchuria present with the field army, admittedly the best troops of the Tsar in eastern Asia. General Baron Stackelberg was placed in command of this force; and with him, in addition to infantry and guns, there went Samsonoff and Rennenkampf with their two divisions of Cossacks. After a march across country from Fuchun along secondary valleys running north and south, Stackelberg came up against Kuroki's right on October 9 in the vicinity of the Taitse. The weight of the first onset told, and two positions were successively taken by assault. The Cossacks swarmed across the Taitse, and a preliminary measure of success was secured. On the following

day, however, Kuroki reinforced his threatened wing and recaptured the lost positions, while a flying column despatched across the river drove back the Cossacks and their supports. Stackelberg exhausted himself in vain efforts to make headway, but all to no purpose, and, after losing some 25,000 men, he was forced to retreat on the night of October 13.

Reassured as to his right on the 10th, Marshal Oyama, far from falling back upon Liaoyang, determined to take the offensive with his centre and left. From October 10 to 13 the action raged along the entire front. Everywhere the Japanese were successful; and by the night of the 13th the Russian defeat was assured, while thirty-eight Russian guns were in Japanese hands. Kuropatkin's attack had hopelessly failed; with every hour he was being pressed back nearer to the Hun, and ran a risk of a great disaster. On the Shaho, however, he had prepared a defensive position; and the unexpended balance of energy remaining in the Japanese proved insufficient to oust the enemy from this line.

There can be little doubt that Kuropatkin had ordered a general retreat on the 14th, and that streams of broken units, fugitives, and wounded were already pouring across the Hun and inundating Mukden. One final effort and the rout was assured and Mukden won. But, although Oyama recognised on the 15th that he had only rear-guards in front of him, he was either unwilling or unable to make the effort. Kuropatkin reconsidered his order and began to pour troops back to the Shaho, even succeeding on the 17th, by a vigorous counter-attack, in overwhelming a Japanese brigade and in capturing Japanese guns for the first time during the campaign. The reason for the arrest of the Japanese forward movement is not yet known. It is, however, not improbable that the losses and the unprecedented expenditure of ammunition may have caused Oyama to receive reports calculated to induce him, from motives of prudence, to check the march of his troops. The losses on both sides had been very severe, and it is not excessive to believe that during these two great battles of Liaoyang and the Shaho no less than 150,000 casualties occurred in the two armies out of an aggregate of 400,000 to 450,000 men engaged.

Meanwhile, General Nogi's forces, completely covered by the operations of the main army in the chief theatre, pressed the siege of Port Arthur in circumstances of great difficulty. In the period of grace allowed him, General Stössel had greatly increased the natural strength of Port Arthur, and had raised a tremendous barrier of fortifications at every point of vantage throughout the peninsula, with the view of holding off the Japanese as long as possible from an attack on the main line of works and from effective bombardment of the harbour.

It was on June 26 that General Nogi advanced from Dalny in the expectation of making a rapid end of the great fortress. But he soon discovered that every step in advance had to be won at a high price, and that the precedents of the Chinese war were of no use as a criterion of the heavy task before the besieging army of 1904. A whole month was spent in driving the Russians from the advanced chain of semi-permanent defences constructed right across the peninsula from Ingentsi to Takhe Bays; and it was not until the first week in August that the Japanese right could touch Louisa Bay. The attack and defence of the group of works on the low hills north of the main line of forts occupied the Japanese during the month of August; and it was only at the end of that month and during the first days of September that Wolf Hill was taken, the line of works drawn in close on the north, and Pigeon Bay secured on the right. The capture of outlying works about Takushan on the east front also enabled the line to be drawn tighter; and from all these captured positions a rain of shells soon began to fall upon the town, forts, and harbour. On August 4 the effect of this bombardment was first felt. The shells began to fall upon the warships in harbour; and, after enduring punishment for some few days, the squadron took courage and sallied forth, under Admiral Vitoff, with express directions not to return to Port Arthur. The Tsar's orders appear to have been that the squadron should sail for Vladivostok; but, in the event of a defeat, it was doubtless understood that the neutral ports of Tsingtau, Chifu, and Shanghai, would offer security to cattered vessels.

Admiral Togo, who had transferred his movable base from Masampo to the Hall group and thence to the

Elliot islands, was always in condition to oppose a sortie. The channel into Port Arthur was narrow, and the larger Russian war-vessels could only leave port in succession, at slow speed and by day. Togo's watchers, in touch with their chief by wireless telegraphy, were always able to send news of any change in the situation and to call up reinforcements. Nevertheless the circumstances were not unfavourable for vigorous action on the part of the Russian admiral. He had six first-class battleships, four cruisers, and eight destroyers; while, to oppose them, the Japanese admiral had but four first-class battleships and two first-class armoured cruisers in his first fighting line. In May the Japanese navy had suffered irreparable loss by the sinking of the battleship 'Hatsuse' by a mine, and of the cruiser 'Yoshino' by a collision. In June the 'Yashima' also met with a mishap, which entailed her withdrawal from the fighting line; and several smaller craft were destroyed in the operation of mine-clearing.

These losses, and the resulting weakness of Togo's squadron, should have induced the Russian admiral to engage promptly and with vigour; but the action of August 10 had no such characteristics, and did little credit to the Russian navy. The fight began at 1 P.M., twenty-five miles south-east of Port Arthur; but it was not till nearly six in the evening that the two squadrons engaged on parallel courses, each column in line ahead, at 7000 metres distance. The fire of the Japanese warships almost immediately proved superior; and the Russian flagship 'Tsarevitch,' with Admiral Vitoft on board, was subjected to a destructive fire by Togo's flagship, the 'Mikasa.' A 12-in. shell struck the conning-tower of the 'Tsarevitch' and killed Admiral Vitoft; two other shells of the same calibre caused the Russian battleship to become unmanageable, and she suddenly turned to port, followed by her consorts, who soon fell into a confused group, into which the Japanese poured a heavy fire at 3500 metres range. At about half-past six some other Japanese ships joined in from the north, and the action continued till dark, when the Russians scattered and saved themselves by independent flight. Five battleships and two cruisers returned to Port Arthur; the 'Tsarevitch' and three destroyers reached Tsingtau; the 'Askold' and another destroyer made for Wusung; one

destroyer ran aground near Weihaiwei; the 'Diana' got clear away, and only came to at Saigon; while the 'Novik' made for Vladivostok, but was engaged by the 'Tsushima' on August 20, and driven ashore.

To add to the tale of disaster, the Vladivostok cruisers, endeavouring to pass the Straits of Korea on August 14, were caught and severely handled by Admiral Kamimura, the 'Rurik' being sunk by gun-fire, while the 'Gromoboi' and the 'Rossia' suffered great loss and only escaped by reason, it is supposed, of the failure of the Japanese supply of ammunition when they were on the point of surrender or destruction. From these actions the squadron never recovered; and, though the five battleships and two cruisers which returned to Port Arthur retained a semblance of existence until the first week in December, the capture of 203 Metre Hill, on November 30, enabled the Japanese to discover their hiding-place south of Peiyushan fort, and to destroy all save the 'Sevastopol' during a few days' bombardment. It is probable that the guns and crews of most of the ships had been removed as far back as September last, and added to the rapidly diminishing number of Stössel's garrison.

The end of the siege of Port Arthur came with almost dramatic suddenness. On December 18 the first great permanent fort of the Russian main line of defence, namely, North Keekwanshan, was captured by the Japanese after the explosion of mines under the parapets. Further successes followed on the Japanese right; and on December 28 the great Erhlungshan fort was blown up and stormed. On the last day of the old year Sungshushan fort shared the same fate, and a number of neighbouring works fell into Japanese hands. Stössel had prolonged his glorious resistance to the last. He had lost 11,000 killed during the siege; and out of the 25,000 combatants remaining alive, over 15,000 were sick or wounded and in hospital. Finding further resistance useless, he offered to surrender on the evening of January 1, blew up the sunken warships the next morning, and signed the capitulation the same day, thus bringing to a close one of the most notable sieges recorded by history.

The story of the Pacific squadron is not one of which the Russian navy has any title to be proud. It was not

quite the equal of the combined squadron of Japan at the outbreak of war, but it was far less unequal to its enemy than our own navy has frequently been before victory. It was chiefly in leadership that the Russian squadron failed; nor has there as yet been a vestige of a sign that Russia has fathomed the secret of the sea. Fine ships and brave men do not make a navy. Experience, training, science, dash, and resolution are all indispensable for success in maritime war; and in all these matters the Russian navy proved itself to be utterly inferior to its foe.

The powerful Pacific squadron allowed itself to be destroyed without the loss of a single ship by Japan in action; and no vessel of the Mikado's navy suffered material damage from the fire of the Russian navy during eleven months of war. For the outlay of some 32,000,000*l.* upon her ships alone Russia received no return at all. This humiliating circumstance has been very largely due to the insidious attraction of Port Arthur as a haven of refuge, and to the evil influence of such a harbour upon a navy not bred and nurtured on blue water. The Japanese losses at Port Arthur from August onward were indeed very severe; but Japan could afford to lose men, and could not afford to lose ships. She was right to sacrifice the element of power of which she had a superabundance, rather than risk her precious ships, which she could not replace while the war lasted. These heavy sacrifices were abundantly justified when the last ship of the Pacific squadron sank beneath the waters of the fatal harbour.

While the intermediate phase of the foregoing operations was in progress, Russia's second Pacific squadron, namely, the Baltic fleet, at length got ready for service and quitted Libau on October 16. Four days later, while steaming, on the night of October 21, past the Dogger Bank, this squadron, under Admiral Rozhdestvensky, fell foul of a fleet of British steam-trawlers which were engaged upon their lawful avocations upon this well-known fishing-ground, and carried all their customary lights. Owing to causes which are now under investigation by an international commission of enquiry, fire was opened by the warships upon the trawlers. British

fishermen were killed and wounded; one fishing-boat was sunk and several injured. The Russian squadron steamed away without any endeavour to investigate or atone for their mistake, or to assist the victims of their misplaced zeal. Had they not taken this course, little more would have been heard of a mistake which might well happen to the greatest navy in time of war.

This incident aroused such a storm of indignation in England as our generation has never before witnessed. Many hard and harsh things were said; and, had not the affair happened so suddenly that we were for the moment unarmed, a collision would have been almost inevitable. By the time we were ready to act, the Russians, steaming fast down Channel, were out of reach. The conduct of our Admiralty throughout the war had been open to severe criticism. They had taken insufficient precautions to watch the Russian volunteer steamers issuing from the Black Sea in July; and, when the 'Peterburg' and 'Smolensk' hoisted the Russian naval flag and began a course of unwarrantable depredation upon our merchant shipping in the Red Sea, there was nothing in those waters flying the white ensign to stop them. A Russian prize-crew, placed on board the Peninsular and Oriental steamer 'Malacca,' was permitted to pass through the canal, and to steam away from Port Said for the westward, with the Russian flag illegally flying, without any interference. Subsequently these Russian ships were allowed to quit the scene of their short-lived triumphs and to reappear near the Cape of Good Hope and recommence their activity, without any knowledge on the part of the Admiralty of the direction they had taken.

The whole course of the war had proved that when any Russian warships or auxiliary cruisers were loose at sea, British carrying trade suffered. So much was this the case that at one moment our seaborne trade with the Far East underwent serious diminution, and orders passed into foreign hands because our shippers were unable to accept them owing to the scant confidence placed in the resolution of the Government to give adequate protection to the flag. The sinking of the British steamer 'Knight Commander,' and the seizure of the 'Calchas,' 'Allanton,' 'Arabia,' and many other vessels, caused rates of insurance to rise with great

rapidity, while the cumulative effect on public opinion of these successive acts of disrespect for our neutral rights was menacing. When, therefore, the Baltic fleet issued from Libau and prepared to traverse frequented trade routes swarming with British shipping, experience demanded corresponding measures of precaution at the Admiralty. Yet nothing was done; and the strategic disposition of our ships in commission on the day of the Dogger Bank affair made it impossible for the Government to guard what was the British Channel only in name.

The home fleet was at Cromarty Bay in the north of Scotland; the cruiser division was laid up for repair, and not a single unit was available for immediate service; there was no other body of ships in home waters fit to take up what almost seemed at first to be a deliberate challenge. In the Mediterranean our greatest squadron was engaged upon one of those rounds of social festivities which occupy so much of its time and cause such needless inroads upon the purses of poorer officers. The squadron was at Venice, where the lagoons were brilliantly illuminated; and subsequently there were important engagements at Pola and Fiume which fully occupied the energies of Admiral Domville until the evening of October 26, when the first move was made towards Malta. Of all the great fleets we held in commission, the Channel squadron, which chanced to be at Gibraltar, was alone available to act and was ready for sea on October 26. The home fleet left Cromarty Bay on the evening of October 25 and reached the Firth of Forth next day; but it was not until October 30 that this solitary fleet in commission in home waters was assembled at Portland.

If the Anglo-Russian agreement to refer the Dogger Bank incident to an international commission of enquiry made it happily unnecessary for us to employ force, it is also true that the disposition and state of readiness of our squadrons on the anniversary of Trafalgar was lamentably deficient, and must not be allowed to recur. It was not the Russian squadron alone that was in question. The Franco-Russian alliance was known to the world, while the benevolent neutrality shown to Russia throughout the war by Germany made it necessary for us to take into account the dozen battleships of the efficient and formidable German fleet lying ready

for sea at Kiel. Had hostilities ensued as the outcome of the Dogger Bank affair, and had either France or Germany been drawn into the vortex, our naval position would have been for the time unequal to our pretensions and wholly incommensurate with the great sacrifices to which British taxpayers have consented during past years.

The naval lessons of the war are still in process of elucidation; and it will not be wise to endeavour to arrive at final conclusions until more ample evidence is placed at our disposal. But, so far as the war has gone, the general trend of evidence is in favour of three main classes of warships, namely, first-class battleships, armoured cruisers, and destroyers, the first for fighting, the second for reconnaissance, chasing, and fighting, and the third for inshore and other duties in co-operation with a fleet. As for battleships of inferior class and power, unarmoured and protected cruisers of the second or third class, and torpedo-boats, none of these have given results fit to be set against the cost of their construction and maintenance. In the battleship the king of weapons has been the heavy gun; and, other things being equal, the fleet with the largest number of heavy guns is the strongest. The decision of the action of August 10 was accomplished by the three 12-inch shells which struck the 'Tsarevitch' in rapid succession; the influence of guns of smaller calibre upon fleet actions has been insignificant. The first-class sea-going battleship has been proved to be the factor upon which all else depends. Moreover, the battleship has proved long-lived. Despite many attacks by Japanese torpedo craft and three encounters which might almost rank as fleet actions, the battleships of the Pacific squadron—all, at least, except the 'Petropavlovsk'—remained afloat for ten months, battered but unsubdued, until finally destroyed by an arm they were unprepared and not constructed to fight, namely, siege artillery. Not a single battleship of Japan, during the same period, has been seriously injured by gun or torpedo.

The greatest losses during the naval war have been caused by mines; but it is an open question whether the effect of these infernal machines has been more damaging to friend or foe. So many mines have been displaced

and set adrift by the storms which sweep across the Yellow Sea that it is by no means certain that all the Russian losses have been caused by Japanese mines, or all the Japanese losses by Russian mines. Certain of the Russian losses were admittedly caused by Russian mines; and it will cause no surprise if the ultimate historian of the war decides that these engines offer no advantage commensurate with the risk to those who use them.

If we take the next type of war-vessel in order of importance, namely, the armoured cruiser, we see that Japan has utilised these ships for all purposes in line of battle, and is evidently prepared to use them in similar fashion against the Baltic fleet. The powerful armament and good protection of these armoured cruisers, combined with the wretched results attained by Russian gunnery and projectiles, have certainly authorised this new departure. Whether, with fleets more evenly matched, the armoured cruiser can safely be trusted to 'lie in a line with first-class battleships is still a matter of doubt, and will probably depend largely upon the future methods of construction of these vessels. But, as against the largest and most powerfully armed protected cruisers, and still more as against unarmoured vessels, the armoured cruiser has manifested such immense superiority that few nations will feel disposed to waste more money over the inferior classes of cruiser craft. The fate of the 'Varyag' and the 'Korietz,' the condition of the 'Askold' on reaching Shanghai, and the manner in which the Vladivostok cruisers were shot to pieces by Kamimura's ships, establish the superiority of the armoured cruiser and give her assured pre-eminence over all other and inferior classes of ships. The great loss of life on board the 'Rurik' and her consorts was not unexpected by sailors, since it was known that the protection of the gun-crews on board these vessels was most inadequate; the fact that these losses have actually occurred will, however, exercise greater influence than all the theory in the world.

A certain number of gun-vessels and river craft will always be needed for inshore operations and for action in shallow waters. We cannot entirely discard them; and we must bear in mind that the success of the attack on the Nanshan lines was largely due to the action of light-draught gun-vessels. But, on the whole, the value of

small warships has been slight; and, except for the purpose of aiding operations on land, they have not been conspicuously useful during the war. The construction of the smaller classes of warships will almost certainly be diminished owing to the experience we have gained. The destroyer flotillas of Japan have proved valuable; and these craft appear to meet nearly all the needs of the typical inshore squadron. They have nullified all the efforts of the smaller vessels at Port Arthur to disturb the watch or to loosen the grip of the blockading squadron, while they appear to have shown a marked superiority over the small torpedo-boat for general purposes and in all weathers.

As an arm, the torpedo has disappointed its most enthusiastic admirers. Not a single warship, save the 'Sevastopol,' has been destroyed by torpedo attack; and, despite the valour and pertinacity of the Japanese crews, and the many good opportunities they have met with for the display of their qualities, no torpedo attack, save that on the night of the first surprise, has been a success. Yet twice at least the Japanese were able to attack the Russian squadron under the shade of night, and at a distance from port; and, on the night of August 10, the battered condition of the defeated and scattered Russian squadron seemed to render it an easy prey. Experience appears to show that there is no justification for the belief of a certain foreign school of naval opinion which has consistently decried the battleship and boasted of the torpedo, the gunboat, and the corsair as arms with which a superior navy can be encountered and worsted. The submarine has not as yet received its baptism of fire. Both belligerents are believed to possess specimens of this latest addition to fighting navies; and, if the naval war is prolonged, there may be occasion for its use.

If we turn from these considerations to the lessons taught us by the operations of the land armies, one fact stands out in prominence much too conspicuous for our comfort. In ten months no less than 250,000 men have been transported from western Russia to Manchuria, over a single line of railway, and across a distance of from 5000 to 6000 miles. This railway has, moreover, proved capable hitherto of maintaining the military effi-

ciency of a total Russian force of 400,000 men east of Lake Baikal, as well as of providing for the wants of the civil population throughout the districts traversed by the line, and of carrying construction materials for the extension and improvement of the line itself. It is clear that the deduction to be drawn from this precedent should be applied to the case of a Russian concentration on the borders of Afghanistan, and that public attention should be called to the fact that Russia has recently completed two lines of railway leading to an eventual line of concentration—Merv-Bokhara-Khokand. The completion of the Orenburg-Tashkend line virtually completes the railway system, which has been established for the express purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon England in Afghanistan. The sword is visibly suspended over our heads, and we shall be constantly asked to observe it.

There is no reason for panic, and still less for any reflections upon Russian motives. From a Russian point of view, and considering the alienation of British sympathies from Russia during a long term of years, these railways are a valuable diplomatic asset; and their application to hostile uses, should the need arise, is plainly within the power of Russia to command. Under Lord Kitchener's watchful guard, India has been the first to awake to the realities of the resulting situation, and has perfected her decidedly cumbrous and antiquated machinery for war so far as lies in her power. By means of a redistribution of troops, and of a diminution of the garrisons to be retained in the interior in case of war, she has doubled her field army, and now hopes to be able to maintain a field force of 150,000 British and native troops on or beyond the frontiers of India. But since the Manchurian precedent discloses that a single line can support a field army nearly 300,000 strong at the Russian rail-head, and since two lines run towards the frontiers of Afghanistan, which are very much closer to the centres of Russian power than is Manchuria, it is obvious that we have a serious military problem before us, and one that we must solve without delay.

Owing to the absence of the machinery recently provided by the creation of the Committee of Imperial Defence, we have in past years failed to realise our military responsibilities in India. We have had no

guidance from the higher circles of government; and departmental efforts have been wanting in breadth and grasp. As a consequence, we have voted large sums of money for the furtherance of successive schemes of army reform at home which have been framed without reference to any well-founded conceptions of national strategy, and provide no standard which each of the two great parties of the State can accept as the guiding rule for their actions. We have had the home-defence scheme of 1901, and the short-service scheme of 1902, both of which were unsuited to our special needs. Now we have the scheme of 1904, which in no way meets the demands of India in time of war, breaks up the regular army into two parts unnecessarily, fails to provide a second-line army on a militia basis, and offers no security that home defence can be efficiently performed by the Volunteers.

It is very likely true that Russia will have had such a lesson from her war with Japan that she will be in no hurry to renew a policy of adventure; but it is also true that her military prestige has been tarnished by the many defeats of her armies in Manchuria, and that prestige counts for much with an Asiatic power. It is for us to take care that neither Afghanistan nor India offer a convenient field for the recovery by Russia of her lost prestige. The new situation created by the Russian railways in Central Asia should be duly and maturely considered by all serious statesmen, and careful and well thought-out preparations should be made to meet a danger which is perhaps not imminent, but nevertheless demands prompt and sustained attention. Our governing circles have proved singularly deficient in constructive ability in their handling of questions that concern the army; but enquiry within the charmed circle of the Defence Committee will infallibly have led Mr Balfour and his colleagues to the opinion that India is our greatest cause of military anxiety, and that only when the safety of India is assured by a comprehensive scheme of defence can we regard the chance of foreign complications with anything like equanimity.

The best opinion is inclining to the belief that Mr Arnold-Forster's intention of splitting up the regular army is a mistake, and that the requirements of our very special situation demand a long-service army for the

garrison of India and the Colonies, with about 60,000 men at home and strong reserves; a second-line army of imperial militia and yeomanry, with the liability to serve abroad in time of national emergency; and finally, volunteers for home defence, brigaded with garrison artillery and cyclists. It is felt that a war on the frontiers of India will be long and exhausting, and that we may have to fall back upon some form of compulsory service to fill our ranks in time of war. The establishment of an imperial militia, strictly territorialised and composed of divisions of all arms, with strong cadres, would give us the requisite centres of formation for the large forces we may have to raise, voluntarily if we can, but, if not, then by compulsion. It is probable that we shall be compelled shortly to reinforce the white garrison of India, which is still 6000 men below the minimum fixed in 1858, when no danger existed beyond the frontiers of India; and we shall also be forced in course of time to increase, if we can, our native reserves in India, provided the best authorities concur with the wisdom of such a step. Finally, we must hope that some agreement may be arrived at with respect to colonial assistance, so that we may know how far we can rely upon the military aid of our self-governing Colonies in a national war.

It is too early as yet to attempt to formulate the tactical lessons taught by the great battlefields of Manchuria, since the skilled observers of the British army who are guests at the field headquarters of the two belligerent Powers, have not as yet been able to express publicly all their thoughts, nor to write them untrammelled by the censor's control. But, in their broad lines, the tactics of the war provide a timely antidote for the lessons of South Africa. If the necessity for education, personal initiative, and intelligence has been equally proved by both these conflicts, the conduct of operations has been widely different. We have seen the German theories of infantry attack carried through by the Japanese, with the utmost intrepidity on the part of both leaders and men, with the sole idea of overwhelming the enemy by fire action followed by the shock of wave upon wave of men. On the Russian side the formations appear to have been denser and deeper, and the losses propor-

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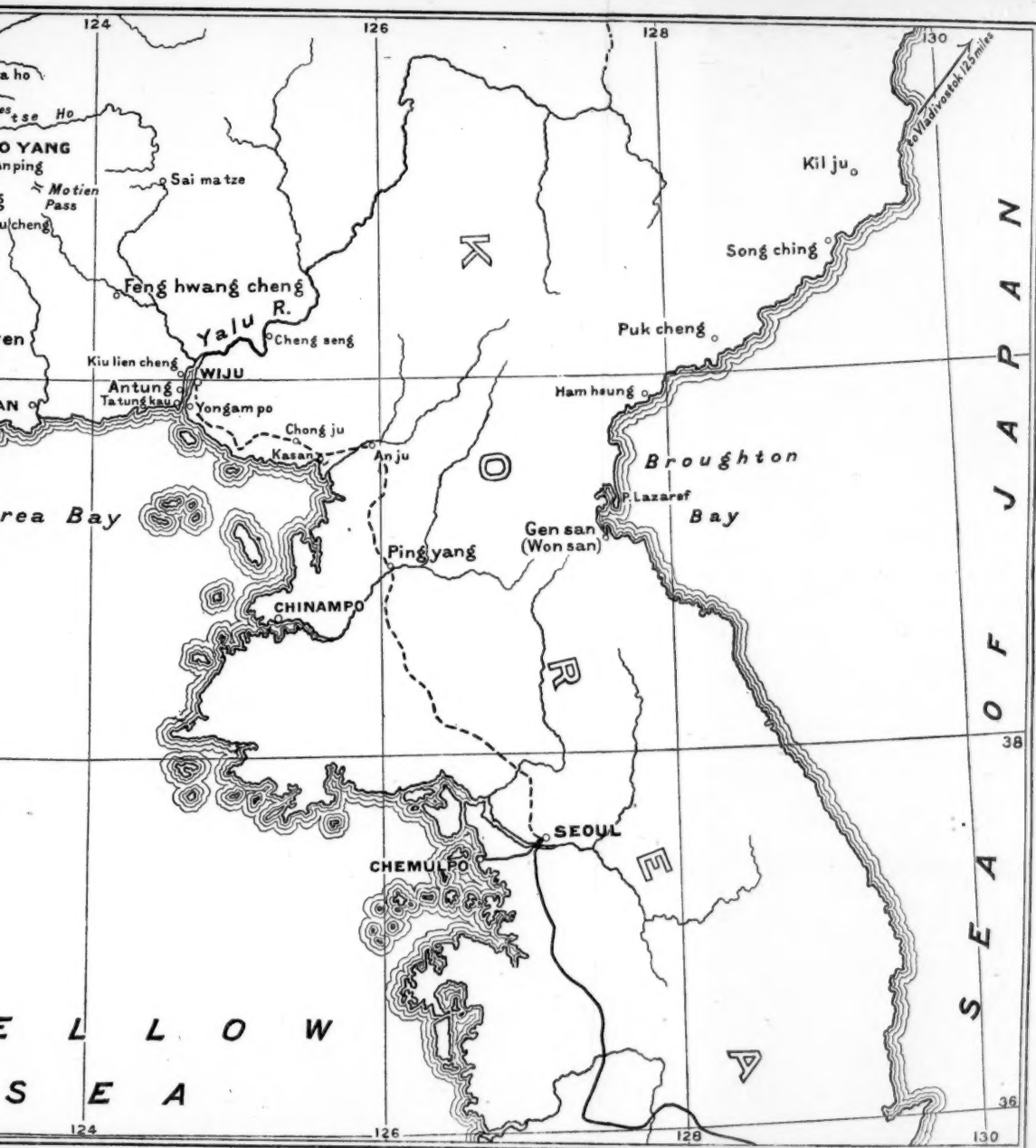
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tionately higher; but there is no material difference between Russians and Japanese in the intention, namely that of overwhelming the enemy by masses of men hurled against a position regardless of loss.

The Japanese gunnery has been on the whole superior; and, during the phase of mountain fighting, the Japanese army was better provided than its enemy with light artillery. But in the later battles in more open country the superior range, weight of shell, and rapidity of fire of the Russian field-gun have told heavily, and make it an essential matter that any Power considering a war with Russia as a possibility should provide equally powerful modern guns for its field artillery. Both sides have used heavy howitzers with success; and when active hostilities are renewed we shall probably hear more of these weapons.

The mounted troops on both sides have done little, and have been mainly restricted to the task of scouting. Russia anticipated much better results from her Cossacks, and has been proportionately disappointed; but few of those who have studied the Cossacks closely have been surprised to find them fail. The Japanese, on their side, expected little from their cavalry, and, in view of the character of the theatre of war, devoted only a small share of their attention to the arm. Neither side has approached the standard of the Boers in South Africa, or of the Federal or Confederate horsemen in the American Civil War; nor have far-reaching operations by mounted men played any part in the conflict. The generals have kept their horsemen chained to their armies, and have only used them for subordinate and unimportant operations on the flanks of their columns.

If tactical questions can conveniently be relegated to subsequent analysis and discussion, it is otherwise with the very much larger question of the issues of the campaign, and with the situation of England at the close of the struggle. There can be no doubt that the chief interest of the Russian capital, and of all centres of intellectual life in the Tsar's empire, is concentrated for the moment upon projects of internal reform, and that the play and counter-play of reformers and reactionaries occupy a much larger share of public attention than the situation in Manchuria. The war itself is, without doubt,

the most unpopular campaign Russia has ever waged; and from all sides evidence of impatience and disgust, both with the policy that led to the war and with the conduct of the campaign itself, begins to find free and dangerous expression. The constant riots among the mobilised reserves, the total absence of enthusiasm, the vast cost and fearful losses, the numerous desertions, and, lastly, the disheartening failure at the front and the absence of any prospect of immediate or even ultimate improvement in the military situation—all combine to make it the interest of the Russian Government to put an end to the war on the first opportunity that may occur to secure peace without discredit.

Meantime, the absence of any commanding personality at St Petersburg, and the consequent incapacity of the Russian Government to adopt virile decisions, cause the war to drag on; and on the surface nothing is changed. Every day fresh troops enter the trains to swell the totals of the field army in Manchuria. Russia can neither admit defeat nor officially acknowledge that any issue but victory is to be even dreamed of for a moment. Yet it may be that there are some statesmen at the Russian capital who rather anticipate that, after the assembly of a great land force in the early spring and the establishment of the Baltic squadron at some local base within striking distance of Japan, the menace of these joint forces may enable Russian diplomacy to enter the diplomatic field with the material support necessary to secure more favourable terms of peace.

The situation of the respective armies on the Shaoh has no parallel in modern times, for we seem to have reverted to the old conception of winter quarters. Each army is covered by extensive fortifications and obstacles; each is frozen up; and the advanced troops of the two parties are in places within pistol shot. How the situation will work out no man will care to foretell; but it is clear that each side will strive its hardest to assemble a larger force than the enemy when military operations become once more practicable on a large scale. There are rumours, at present unconfirmed, that the Russian numbers are already taxing the capacity of the railway; and it is well understood that there is some definite limit beyond which numerical strength will be more near skin

to weakness than the reverse, though what this limit of numbers may be no one can say for certain. On the other side, the alteration in the terms of service in Japan has placed large numbers of men at her disposal; and her means for the reinforcement and supply of the army at the front remain vastly superior to those of Russia so long as the sea is free.

There are some who consider that the arrival of the Baltic squadron in the Far East will change the complexion of the war. If, however, we recall the incidents of the naval engagements fought hitherto, and remember that the best officers and men in the Russian navy were with the Pacific squadron, it is difficult to believe that this fleet from the Baltic will succeed where the other failed. Even if the fates are kind and give Russia the victory in a naval battle, it is reasonably certain that such serious damage will be done to Rozhdestvensky's ships that little more will be heard of them during the year. It is not likely that the Russians will be able to maintain themselves, without a properly equipped base, in the Yellow Sea or off the coast of Japan; so that, even in the improbable event of a Russian naval victory, there will be no assurance that the resulting command of the sea may not be so partial, temporary, and supposititious as scarcely to be distinguished from the contrary situation. The superiority of Japan in minor classes of vessels, and especially in destroyers and torpedo craft, must tell when the larger warships are permanently or temporarily out of action; while the question of coaling, the defensible character of the Straits of Korea, and the moral menace of submarines will make the cruise of a weak squadron in Japanese waters a very hazardous affair. The chances are that, even given a Russian victory in a fleet action, Japan will be able to carry on the war without absolute hindrance to final success. But this Russian victory at sea has yet to be won; and the precedents of the war foreshadow a fresh disaster to Russian arms.

The situation of England at the close of the war must in any event give cause for considerable anxiety. There is, on one side, our alliance with Japan, and on the other the happy restoration of our cordial relations with France, which will with difficulty survive any act of hostility towards her friend and ally. We stand to lose if Japan

is beaten to her knees, and we are scarcely better off if peace leaves Russia humbled and irritated, as must be the case if the war and the hitherto unbroken course of Japanese victories continue. Peace is possible before the spring on terms that may do no mortal injury to Russian pride. Should the war be prolonged into next summer, nothing can compensate for the resulting sacrifice of Japan save terms entailing the eviction of Russia from the Pacific littoral—terms, in short, which can mean nothing more than a truce until such time as the political or military situation allows Russia the opportunity of renewing the struggle on more favourable terms.

It is also necessary for us to remember that our treaty with Japan expires in two years, unless it be meantime renewed, or unless the war still drags on after that lapse of time. Japan is bound to frame her foreign policy upon considerations of our future attitude in this respect. If we decline to renew the bond, and if, as a consequence, the ægis of the British navy, which now shields her from attack by third parties, be removed, a radical change in her foreign relations is inevitable. Nor should we, in such an event, merely relapse into the position in which we found ourselves before the alliance was made. Japan would be forced to make friends elsewhere; and such friendships would necessarily be made with those who are, at least potentially, our enemies. Our interest would suffer from an isolation by no means splendid or hopeful. The navigation of our ship of state through the stormy waters of the concluding phases of this great struggle will tax the patience and the ability of British diplomacy to the utmost; and, if final terms of peace can be arranged which will satisfy Japanese patriotism, not press too hardly on Russian self-esteem, and leave our world-wide interests intact and secure, Lord Lansdowne or his successor will have the right to boast a masterpiece of diplomatic triumph.

Art. XII.—THE PRIME MINISTER'S DUTY.

NEVER since by its formation it delivered the United Kingdom from imminent constitutional peril has the Unionist party faced so gloomy an outlook as that which, in the general opinion, now lies before it. The only point on which most politicians will admit a doubt as to the results of the appeal to the country, now expected to be made within a few months, is the magnitude of the anti-ministerial majority. In 1892 a Unionist defeat was indeed expected at the polls, but not a disaster; and only a slight defeat occurred. As things stand now, anything short of a disaster would be welcomed with surprise by Unionist politicians. And this depressing situation has come about, not only within five years of an emphatic renewal of the popular commission to the Unionists to guide Imperial destinies, but within three years of a series of conspicuous exhibitions of dissension on the part of their opponents, culminating in the announcement of 'definite separation' between the Liberal ex-Premier and the Liberal leader in the House of Commons. At the present moment the Liberals are boisterously rejoicing in their recovered unity and confidently predicting the easy discomfiture of a broken and disunited enemy.

We do not subscribe to the anticipations, whether hopeful or fearful, of which we have spoken, but it is a mere recognition of fact to record their currency. We are not prepared to admit that the game is lost beyond hope, and that nothing can be done to prevent the threatened triumph of a party whose cohesion on questions of first-rate Imperial importance would probably prove, if put to the test, as precarious as ever, and one of whose chief bonds of union lies in an avowed resolve to set the calamitous precedent of reversing the principles of recent legislation. In order, however, to arrive at any rational conclusion as to the measures to be taken to avert a disaster to the Unionist party, involving grave domestic and Imperial dangers, it is necessary briefly to consider the principal causes of the present elevation of Radical hopes.

Unquestionably the cause which far transcends all others is the expectation of being able, as a general

election approaches, to identify the Unionist party as a whole with the policy of Protection and of food taxation. Of this no one can have any doubt who has been at the pains of following the oratorical performances of the Opposition during the present recess. Strike out of the speeches of Liberal and Radical leaders the passages devoted to the exposition, often very well done, of the follies and dangers of Protection, and the demonstration that there is practically no serious difference between Mr Chamberlain and Mr Balfour, and the whole structure of most of these utterances would have to be recast. Relatively to the treatment of the subjects just mentioned, questions connected with the Education Act, the Licensing Act, and Chinese Labour, which in their day engrossed large shares of parliamentary and public attention, occupy quite subordinate positions. They are, no doubt, often briefly mentioned as among the counts of the indictment which is to be laid against the party in power before the tribunal of the electorate. They are duly employed to illustrate the standing charge against Conservatives of legislating, when in office, in the interest of special classes, from whom they have received support in the past, or hope to receive it in the future. And if there were no more attractive subject on which to dilate, we may be quite sure that Liberal speakers would generally be able to expand the treatment of these and other topics so as to occupy the time allowed to platform eloquence. Under present conditions, however, the 'iniquitous' character of the measure which, on equitable terms, arranged for the permanently effective utilisation of the denominational schools as part of the national system of education, the 'perpetual endowment' of the liquor trade, and the introduction of Asiatic immigrants under 'servile' conditions into the Transvaal—all these matters have, as a rule, to be packed away in a few summary sentences in speeches the whole point and essence of which relate to the fiscal question.

The Opposition must be supposed at least to know something of their own business; and if, after extensive experience of by-elections in which they have without doubt achieved remarkable successes in a very widely representative series of constituencies, we find them steadily concentrating on the fiscal issue, it may safely

be inferred that in their opinion such concentration pays. In other words, they must be held to believe that it is dislike of Protection, and fear that Mr Balfour is either practically at one with Mr Chamberlain or is not strong enough to hold out against him, which have chiefly conducted to the manifold electoral reverses suffered by the Government; and that the other questions, on which, sometimes with astonishing want of scruple, they have laid stress, have immeasurably less hold on the popular mind, even when they are all put together, than the one desire to defeat the attack upon Free Trade.

If this is the case, it must be admitted that, on the one hand, there is singularly little to be said for the line of conduct pursued by the Prime Minister during the recess in regard to the fiscal question, as a matter of tactics; and, on the other hand, that a new and strong line on his part in that connexion might still produce a surprising revival in Unionist prospects. If, indeed, there were good reasons to suppose that Mr Balfour was at heart a protectionist, there would still be a considerable case for his declaring himself such in an unmistakable manner. Ambiguity, on that theory, certainly could not be said to have justified itself, having neither prevented division within the Unionist party, nor averted, even temporarily, from the party as a whole the popular charge of having become protectionist.

Mr Balfour's speech at Edinburgh at the beginning of October has been regarded, by Lord Hugh Cecil and others, as negating any such theory. In that speech—for which it was understood that an occasion was made at very short notice—the Prime Minister was at pains to distinguish between his own fiscal policy, as set forth at Sheffield a year before, and Protection, which, however, he defined in terms not entirely devoid of obscurity. What he laid stress on was the intention. 'A protective policy,' as he understood it, 'aimed at supporting or creating home industries by raising home prices.' To any such policy he declared himself opposed, and he intimated that if it were to be adopted by the Conservative party as a whole he, though not leaving the party, must cease to lead it. But what he omitted to consider, and what is practically of greater importance than the intention, is the *effect* of heavy duties on trade and industry. For all that he said,

he would be ready to accept such duties, whatever their effect, provided only that they were not called, or meant to be, protective; and herein he remains ambiguous.

Mr Balfour proceeded to advocate the summoning of an Imperial conference as a means of escape from the '*impasse*, dangerous to the empire,' caused by the controversy which had arisen over Mr Chamberlain's statement as to colonial 'offers' of fiscal reciprocity. Of this conference, which should include India as well as the self-governing Colonies, the feature essential to success would be absolute freedom of discussion. On this he laid reiterated stress. The delegates or representatives must be altogether unhampered by special views or special instructions, and, knowing that different economic conditions and views prevailed in the mother-country and in the Colonies, they must do their best, in the light of that knowledge, to determine whether 'any large plan of Imperial union, on fiscal or other lines,' could be hammered out. The phrase, 'other lines,' did not receive any further elucidation from the Prime Minister at Edinburgh; but two months later, when receiving, early in December, an exceptionally weighty deputation organised under the auspices of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, he intimated that the question of a larger co-operation by the Colonies with the mother-country for purposes of common defence must also be regarded as entirely within the field of consideration at the conference which he desired to summon, and of which, as he again observed, perfect freedom of discussion would be a fundamental condition. As 'a necessary corollary, an inevitable set-off to the complete freedom of discussion,' Mr Balfour laid down at Edinburgh that, notwithstanding the delay which might thereby be caused, any large plan resulting from the deliberations of the delegates ought not to be regarded as accepted by any of the parties to the contract until their several electorates should have given their adhesion to it.

To sum up Mr Balfour's declaration of policy—intentional Protection was repudiated; effectual Protection, called by some other name and based on other grounds, was not ruled out. The power to negotiate, and, if necessary, to make and fulfil fiscal threats, with a view to the mitigation of foreign hostile tariffs, was once more

demand. The wish to develop out of that power a protective tariff for this country was decisively disclaimed. In regard to colonial preference and other matters bearing on Imperial union, a conference was to be called, into which the United Kingdom would go ready to hear and consider any proposals the Colonies might desire to make, but no more pledged in advance to a system of food taxation than the Colonies would be pledged to enhance their naval contributions. And, even if the conference decided in favour of any modification of our existing fiscal system, as part of an arrangement with the Colonies, the ratification of the electorate would be required.

Such, in brief, was the programme put forward by the Unionist chief as that on which his party should go to the country in respect of the fiscal issues raised eighteen months before by Mr Chamberlain. If for a moment we could suppose that this programme had been accepted by Mr Chamberlain as essential to the unity of the Unionist party at the polls, if it had received the frank and loyal acquiescence of Conservative and Liberal Unionist party organisations, and if all Mr Balfour's colleagues had evinced genuine satisfaction with it, the position of the party at the present moment would have been far more cheerful than it is commonly supposed to be. None of these conditions, however, has been fulfilled.

At Luton, two days after the Prime Minister's Edinburgh utterance, Mr Chamberlain delivered a speech which, alike in its assent to and in its dissent from the views expressed by Mr Balfour, was calculated to hinder and, so far as it went, to defeat the attainment of the Prime Minister's obvious aims. Thus, towards the close of a speech essentially protectionist in temper—for example, in its lament over the decline of agriculture under the free-trade *régime*—Mr Chamberlain associated himself with Mr Balfour in repudiating the name 'protectionist,' thereby doing what in him lay to minimise the effect of the Prime Minister's repudiation. Then, while offering a cordial welcome to Mr Balfour's proposal for an Imperial conference—as he could not fail to do, having made a somewhat similar proposal himself some months earlier—he took occasion pointedly to reject that necessity for a subsequent popular ratification of the results of the conference on which the Prime Minister

had so strongly insisted. Mr Balfour had treated this ratification as 'a necessary corollary' of that absolute freedom of discussion—that entire absence of hampering preliminary instructions to the delegates—which on two occasions he declared to be essential to the success of a complicated and difficult undertaking. Therefore, in striking at the corollary, Mr Chamberlain must be held to have indicated his unwillingness to acquiesce in the condition from which it flowed. In other words, he wishes that the voters at the next general election, if they return the Unionist party to power, should be taken as declaring, not for a free conference, but for a conference into which the United Kingdom would enter pledged to a system of colonial preference based upon the taxation of food. Thus the net result of Mr Chamberlain's Luton speech was, so far as might be, to blur the effect of the Prime Minister's declaration against Protection, and to put pressure upon him to alter the issues which he desired to place before the country at the general election.

It was naturally expected that Mr Balfour would avail himself of the occasion offered by the Conservative gathering at Southampton in the last week of October to clear up and emphasise both those aspects of his Edinburgh utterance which it had thus been sought to obscure or to modify. In the interval, however, came the North Sea outrage and imminent danger of war with Russia, with the result that the speech, which otherwise would inevitably have been largely occupied by a consideration of the fiscal policy of the Unionist party, was devoted entirely to a treatment of the acute international crisis. The Prime Minister's statement on that occasion produced, it is true, an impression that more had been obtained from Russia in the way of satisfaction than subsequently appeared to be the case. On the whole, however, there is reason to believe that Mr Balfour and Lord Lansdowne obtained, not, indeed, a brilliant diplomatic success, but concessions as large as any one could have expected to obtain by diplomatic means. Nothing short of a refusal on the part of Russia to submit the matter to arbitration at all would have justified a recourse to violent measures, involving the colossal calamity of war between England and Russia with the probability of a much wider conflagration

That being so, the incident may probably be reckoned as likely to leave on the mind of the electorate no distinct impression for or against the Government.

The acute phases of the Anglo-Russian crisis did not by any means terminate with the reception of the communication from the Russian ambassador, the purport of which was conveyed by the Prime Minister to his audience at Southampton; for two or three weeks later well-informed persons were aware that the danger of a rupture had by no means passed away. It may therefore be plausibly contended that, if Mr Balfour had been contemplating such an utterance on the relations between himself and the protectionist wing of the party as might have led to a party crisis, he was well advised in deferring its deliverance. It was none the less unfortunate, however, that the proceedings at the Southampton conference were such as to be regarded on all hands as amounting to a considerable victory for the protectionist wing. This result was secured, with more ingenuity than loyalty, by the passage, on the motion of Mr Chaplin, of a resolution ignoring the Prime Minister's repudiation of Protection, and emphasising an incidental reference—not in the main body of his speech, but in a series of clever attempts to reduce Lord Rosebery's economic position to absurdity—to the possible necessity of fiscal action for the prevention of dumping. A minority of only some thirteen delegates supported an amendment moved by a 'free-food' Unionist in favour of a general approval of the fiscal declarations contained in the Edinburgh speech. It is probable that the vote taken bore little relation to the actual division of feeling among Conservatives throughout the country on the fiscal problem; but it gave fresh evidence of the extent to which the party organisations had been captured by the tariff-reform section, and of the strange notions of party discipline which prevail in that body.

The same lesson was taught in regard to those Liberal Unionist organisations which had been purged of their anti-Chamberlain element by a correspondence published in December between Mr Ernest Hatch, M.P. for the Gorton division of Lancashire, and Lord Lansdowne and Lord Selborne as vice-presidents of the Liberal Unionist Council. Mr Hatch called the attention of the two

ministers to a circular, at the head of which their names were printed, along with that of Mr Chamberlain, as officers of the council, stating that it was proposed to reorganise and strengthen the Gorton Liberal Unionist Association, and specifying 'closer union with the Colonies on the basis of Preferential Tariffs' as a leading feature of Liberal Unionist policy. Mr Hatch naturally enquired whether this statement was issued with the knowledge and assent of the two vice-presidents, who are also leading members of Mr Balfour's Government. It appeared from the replies that Lord Lansdowne, and probably Lord Selborne also, had not been cognisant of the issue of the particular circular in question; but they both firmly refused to give Mr Hatch any information, beyond what he might gather from their published speeches, as to whether they approved of the inclusion, within a formal and apparently authoritative statement of Liberal Unionist policy, of a feature which Mr Balfour has declared to be beyond the limits to which he desires to commit the Unionist party as a whole in view of a general election. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the case of Gorton is otherwise than representative of operations being carried on generally throughout the country, under the auspices of the new Liberal Unionist Council, for the dislodgment of Unionist members of Parliament who decline to support colonial preference at the next general election.

These things being so, two consequences are natural and indeed inevitable. In the first place, not only will the Opposition confidently assert, but a large and increasing number of electors will believe, that the policy of the Unionist party is not what was defined in Mr Balfour's Edinburgh speech, to the satisfaction of such good free-traders as Lord Hugh Cecil and Lord George Hamilton, but what is prescribed by Mr Chamberlain's supporters. In the second place the free-trade Unionist organisations will inevitably assume a more and more aggressive attitude. The chief of these, the Unionist Free-trade Club, presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, contains a large proportion of the flower of the Liberal Unionist party and not a few of the most promising of the younger Conservatives. No one can be more fully alive than Mr Balfour to the vast injury to the Unionist cause, and to

thoughtful Conservatism generally, which would result from driving these elements of sober and reasoned progress into definite alliance with the Opposition. The merely numerical defection would be far from inconsiderable, but it would bear no proportion at all to the magnitude of the loss in thought, in judgment, and in qualities of leadership.

Already, at several by-elections, free-trade Unionists have used their influence and cast their votes in favour of Liberal candidates in order to prevent the return of a protectionist; and a published correspondence between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr St Loe Strachey shows that, while there may well be cases in which the fiscal soundness of a Radical candidate would not avail to counterbalance other considerations making him unacceptable to a free-trade Unionist voter, it is certainly anticipated that in the majority of cases the fiscal issue will be regarded as decisive. It is apparently hoped and intended by Unionist free-traders that, if they should feel constrained to form a working alliance with a party against which they have waged ceaseless war for the last twenty years, and in some cases for all their lives, such an arrangement will be only temporary, and they will revert to the Unionist alliance when Unionism is purged of the protectionist virus. In the meantime they appear to anticipate that no serious mischief would result to the State from the predominance which they would help to gain for the Liberal party. We cannot profess to share the former of these anticipations with any confidence, or the latter at all. The story of the Unionist alliance shows how political co-operation, begun for a single object, tends to spread over the whole range of public questions and to become a permanent habit only to be disturbed by some such seismic influence as the revival of protectionism. On the other hand, unless—which seems very improbable—the free-trade Unionists should be returned to Parliament, after an election fought on the fiscal issue, in such numbers as to give them something like the balancing power which the Liberal Unionists enjoyed after 1886, they could not count on being able to restrain their allies from doing mischief in the field of Imperial, Irish, and purely English politics. While clinging to the new connexion which they had formed for the purpose of avert-

ing the national adoption of an unsound economic policy, they might find it altogether beyond their power to guide or restrain, within lines of reason, justice, and patriotism, the body of politicians who carried the second Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons; who furnished from among their numbers the virulent and singularly mischievous pro-Boer party; and who have shown a more than benevolent neutrality towards the essentially anarchical resistance offered in different forms in England and Wales to the Education Act of 1902.

No one can suppose that the prospect of this co-operation is anything but uncongenial to the great majority of the free-trade Unionists, even though, in view of what seems to them at the moment an imperative call of duty, they may endeavour to minimise its inevitable dangers and drawbacks. No one can suppose that the majority of them would not welcome with deep satisfaction the opportunity of maintaining their old party allegiance if they could regard it as compatible with the preservation of this country and the empire from the disasters which they foresee in the success of Mr Chamberlain's fiscal policy. It rests entirely with the Prime Minister to determine whether this opportunity shall be given them, and whether, through the country at large, the Unionist party shall be delivered from disintegrating and paralysing influences. It is possible that history may not blame him for having attempted, during the past twenty months, to hold the Unionist party together by a policy of consideration for Mr Chamberlain. But that policy has conspicuously failed. The party has become both deeply divided in itself and discredited with the country. The one moment when there seemed a chance of recovery from these disasters was the morrow of the Edinburgh speech, which, as was said by one of the minority at Southampton, put fresh heart and hope into many hundreds of those who had been, and would gladly be again, among Mr Balfour's most loyal followers. We have shown how the hopes so raised were dashed, and he has not since then taken a single public step to retrieve them. The severity of the Anglo-Russian crisis and his own illness may be fairly allowed to account for a good deal of his silence. But the time has now plainly come for the de
ertion of his authority.

Within the past few weeks two of his principal colleagues—the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary for the Colonies—have used language which can only with the utmost difficulty, if at all, be reduced to any kind of harmony with the Edinburgh speech in its leading points. Mr Austen Chamberlain, while still in charge of the finances of the country, has—unless the condensed report of a recent speech did him grave injustice—poured contempt upon both the doctrine and practice of Free Trade in terms hardly distinguishable in effect from those habitually employed by his father. Mr Lyttelton, speaking at Glasgow on an occasion when Mr Balfour himself had been originally expected to be present, used language in regard to the Imperial conference to be called if the Unionists return to power, which was naturally interpreted by Mr Chamberlain's chief organs in the London press as meaning that a mandate from the country for the calling of the conference would be accepted as a declaration in favour of colonial preference. That is the opposite of what Mr Balfour said.

The country, therefore, has a right to know now whether—as we certainly shall believe until the contrary is demonstrated—the Prime Minister's policy is that which he expounded at Edinburgh. If it is, it needs to be restated in such a fashion as will place it beyond possibility of further misinterpretation, whether by party organisations or by late or present colleagues. Only by so doing can Mr Balfour prevent the Unionist party from being regarded by the country as committed to the protectionism which he has apparently repudiated; only so can that party secure any chance of avoiding disaster at the polls. The safety of every cause of importance for which Mr Balfour has fought since he began to take a prominent part in politics is, in one degree or another, involved in averting a Unionist *débâcle*. In Ireland, the progress of the expropriation of the landlords and the spread of the devolution movement imperatively require that the direction of legislation and administration should remain in the hands of those with whom the maintenance of the Union is a matter of vital principle and, not at the best, one of possible opportunism. In South Africa it is of prime importance that the gradual advance of the new colonies towards self-government should not be carried

out under the auspices of the party of which a large and extremely energetic section might be counted on as certain to yield, as matter of conscience, to any noisy agitation engineered by the Boers. In England, the education settlement, which Mr Balfour, to his great credit, carried through the House of Commons, would, in one of its most important aspects, be profoundly disturbed by the accession of the Radical party to power—and that in deference to an agitation which has been conducted with an extraordinary disregard alike for truth and for the first principles of parliamentary government.

Never, in fact, has a statesman had greater call, on grounds of patriotism, to exert himself to rally his followers for the prevention of a party catastrophe. It is true that in so doing he runs the risk of mutiny on the part of an important section. The threat to which he unwisely deferred, in allowing the withdrawal of the Wharton amendment, may be renewed. But, on the one hand, it seems clear that Protectionism is making little way, and that, even in the Midlands, its hold is slight. The number of those politicians, therefore, who would be prepared to stake their future on the chance of the success of that cause must have appreciably declined. On the other hand, we cannot believe that, on a full consideration of the other great issues to which we have referred, many of those who, on the fiscal question, are in accord with Mr Chamberlain would be prepared to take the responsibility of contributing to the wreck of the Unionist party. However that may be, the Prime Minister's course is, in our judgment, clear. To drift in the wake of Mr Chamberlain would involve infinitely greater perils to his own prestige and to every cause which he may be supposed to hold dear than any which might result from a removal of all obscurities and a resolute reassertion of his leadership on the lines which he has himself marked out.
